

GOLF 40
LAURA DAVIES
FORCED TO PLAY
SECOND FIDDLE



THE PRIVATE NIXON

Jonathan Aitken on the tainted President

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Why farmers' wives are threatening revolt

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30P

THE TIMES

No. 64,937

MONDAY APRIL 25 1994

SL

● Times man hurt in blast ● Explosion kills nine ● Security alert over Mandela

Bomb fuels fear of white backlash

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN JOHANNESBURG

FEARS that white extremists will wage a campaign of terror to destabilise South Africa and disrupt this week's elections increased yesterday when a huge car bomb rocked Johannesburg, killing at least nine people and injuring 92.

The bomb exploded close to the headquarters of the African National Congress and among those killed was Susan Ann Keane, a provincial ANC candidate.

Simon Walker, 27, a Times photographer, was among the injured. He was taken to Johannesburg general hospital where he was treated for injuries to his shoulder, ear, hand and mouth. He was later transferred to the Milpark Clinic. The car he was driving was totally wrecked.

Although no group has claimed responsibility, white extremists are suspected of

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launching the attack. Fred Randall, a spokesman for the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), which has threatened to wage war rather than live under a black government, denied the group was involved, and tried to lay the blame on the Inkatha Freedom Party.

However, Inkatha attacks on the ANC have declined since Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, the Inkatha leader, agreed last week to end the party's boycott of the poll in return for constitutional guarantees of protection for the Zulu monarch. Addressing a rally in the ANC stronghold of Soweto yesterday, Chief Buthe urged his supporters to lay down their arms.

"I, as president of Inkatha and chief minister of KwaZulu, call on IFP members and KwaZulu citizens and everyone in South Africa to stop violence and throw their full weight behind the holding of elections," he said.

Security was tightened around Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, as fears grew that right-wing whites might launch an assassination campaign. Speaking in Durban yesterday, Mr Mandela told 100,000 people that the ANC was assured of winning the elections, taking power from



Yesterday's bomb attack in Johannesburg in which Simon Walker, top right, a Times photographer, was among the 92 injured when his car, below right, was caught in the blast



'I expected trouble on the frontline — not here'

FROM SIMON WALKER IN
JOHANNESBURG MILPARK
CLINIC

I NEVER saw the blast. I regained consciousness 400 yards from my hire car with blood running through my hair and a terrible pain searing through my chest and shoulders. I knew a bomb had caught me, but I had no idea where or when it had exploded.

As I had driven past the ANC office the blast must have hit my car on the driver's side, but my mind went blank from that moment on. Photographers and other passers-by had helped to pull me clear from my car and treat me at the roadside. The driver's door had taken most of the force and I am indeed lucky to be alive — a cliché perhaps, but the truth.

Like every other photographer working in South Africa, I had long been prepared for trouble on the shifting frontline of unrest, but not in downtown Johannesburg.

In hospital I was told I had a broken collar bone and a broken tooth. I was transferred to the Milpark Clinic where I have met up with Greg Marinovich, an experienced "hot-spots" photographer, who was shot in the chest when another colleague, Ken Coesterbroek, was killed last week. Greg had to give up his bed for me.

I told him I was lucky to be alive, but he said I was taking over the photographers' lucky bed and that I had to look after it for the next one who came in. It made me smile, but even with the morphine it still hurt.

the National Party which established apartheid in 1948. On Saturday, in an effort to calm the volatile atmosphere, he greeted him at a Soweto rally with volleys from their AK47s.

"Those who are firing these guns do not belong in our organisation," he said. "Nobody should come to the meeting armed. If we are to exercise gun control it should begin here within the ANC."

Police said the bomb was

the biggest they had ever had to deal with. A police investigator estimated that over 220 lbs of explosive were used. The force of the explosion was so great that windows in office blocks three streets away were sucked out by the blast. The national headquarters of the ANC was so badly damaged that police at first thought a second bomb had been detonated there. The blast was heard more than four miles away. Bree Street, where the

bomb exploded, was littered for more than 50 yards with tiny fragments of the car in which the bomb had been carried. Bodies lay amid the rubble and wrecked cars. A coiled metal spring was all that visibly remained of the Audi car used in the attack. Police said they were anxious to find a white man who had been reported leaving the car shortly before the explosion.

The body of a black man in ragged clothes slumped under

the front of a small car across the street. A pair of women's shoes lay in a pool of blood. Along the road, a severed arm lay on the pavement, apparently from a woman who was decapitated amid a tumbled pile of fruit she had been selling.

Colonel Steve Senekal, Witwatersrand police liaison officer who was on the scene soon after the blast, said they were still not certain what type of explosive was used. He said

police did not know what the motive or target was. "It is not for us to speculate," he said.

Soon after the explosion a number of ANC supporters began to gather and threaten retaliation, though it was unclear against whom. Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC's candidate for prime minister of the Transvaal, urged: "There must be maximum restraint here and there must be no retaliation because we don't know what is involved."

Hurd pledge eases pressure on Major

By PHILIP WEBSTER, POLITICAL EDITOR

DOUGLAS Hurd eased the pressure on John Major by making plain yesterday that he intends to stay on in the Cabinet beyond the expected early summer reshuffle.

The Foreign Secretary, perhaps the Prime Minister's most important ally in the Government, moved to kill speculation that he might be stepping down as Michael Heseltine was urged to call off enthusiastic supporters allegedly pressing his claims to lead the Tory party.

In another twist it was admitted that some Conservatives had a "death wish" to do badly in the imminent elections so as to increase pressure for Mr Major's removal. Amid a fresh wave of excitement about the leadership, Mr Major voiced his determination to press on, repeating that he would go only "when people least expect it", while supporters of Michael Portillo claimed both that backing for him was increasing and that his interests would not be served by an early contest to replace Mr Major.

Mr Hurd's decision to stay on is an important boost for Mr Major and one the Prime Minister had sought. He has

no leadership ambitions of his own and can be expected to exert a calming influence in the difficult days after the European elections.

Speculation has been increasing that Mr Hurd might go. Yesterday he said he was in no hurry to leave the Cabinet and had much work to do. Asked on BBC Radio 5 about the reports that he intended to retire in the autumn, he replied: "I have never said any such thing. I have never talked about a date. Obviously it is for the Prime Minister to decide, but I have got a lot to do."

"I would like to see a little clear water. I would like to find time this summer, in between crises, really to get a grip on some of the things I do not think we have been discussing sufficiently well in this country."

It was the clearest signal that Mr Hurd wants to be counted out of any June or July reshuffle. He is known to want to win wider support for the Government's vision of the future of the European Union, including opening it to the East. He dismissed talk of a leadership election as "un-Continued on page 2, col 5

Harrods chief 'was sacked'

The Fayed brothers, owners of Harrods, say that they sacked managing director of the store for alleged "dereliction of duty".

Peter Bolliger, who took over the post in 1991, had told a Sunday newspaper that he had quit because the chairman, Mohamed Al-Fayed, wanted to run the shop himself. Page 3

Wounded flown from Gorazde

The first people to escape Gorazde, some of the nearly 2,000 wounded in the three-week Serb offensive that ended when the Nato ultimatum expired, were flown to Sarajevo yesterday for medical care. Some Serb troops were still inside the exclusion zone. Page 13

Solo sailor set to smash record

Mike Golding, the lone yachtsman who set out from the Solent last November on a non-stop westward circumnavigation against the prevailing winds and currents, is on schedule to smash Chay Blyth's record for the voyage. Page 7

Prep schools worry as boarders decline

By JOHN O'LEARY, EDUCATION EDITOR

INDEPENDENT schools will announce a further decline in boarding tomorrow, raising the spectre of a new round of closures and mergers.

The annual census by the Independent Schools' Information Service is expected to show a less serious drop in

number of boarders. The difficulties have been marked among those catering for the younger age groups.

Prep schools will again be the main losers in tomorrow's announcement, which is expected to show a recovery in girls' boarding. The number of eight-year-old boarders has dropped by a third in three years, as a result of social and financial pressures on parents.

Schools are cutting costs and adopting a variety of strategies to cope with the loss of boarders. Allhallows School, near Lyme Regis, has announced a management buy-out with plans to boost funds by taking the school into the leisure industry.

A steady rise in the number of day boys and girls has not compensated for a loss of income from boarding. Roger Wilman, the bursar, said: "It takes two day pupils to match the income from one boarder."

At Woodbridge School, in Suffolk, plans to become a day school have been adapted to maintain boarding in the sixth form only.

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CALMAN REMEMBERED



Celebrating The Times cartoonist's life, page 3

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Rightwingers hope election landslide will bury Major

A SMALL but significant number of Conservative MPs want their party to perform atrociously in the forthcoming local and European elections.

Few could ever admit publicly to such a death wish for fear of outraging their local associations, councillors and Euro-candidates. But it is a frequently expressed sentiment in the privacy of Westminster's bars and lobbies.

The reason, as John Carlisle, the outspoken right-winger confirmed yesterday, is that they believe it will provide the trigger for removing John Major from Downing Street. A leading critic of the Prime Minister

Some Conservative MPs want to see John Major evicted from No 10 at any cost, Philip Webster writes

said privately last week: "We must not just lose badly; we need to be wiped out. I want to see panic here when we return to the Commons after the European election results."

The mood must be suicidal. Only then can we be sure of getting rid of him."

The conclusion of that MP, from a marginal seat, was that only the replacement of Mr Major by Michael Heseltine, Kenneth Clarke or Michael

Portillo would give him and other threatened colleagues a chance of surviving at the next general election.

A substantial number of Tory MPs, however, believe the opposite: they feel that for the party to overthrow its leader in two parliaments in succession would indeed represent a death wish. As the loyalist Tristan Garel-Jones put it, the Conservatives could be landed in opposition for a

decade. Even so, the biggest danger to Mr Major comes from the implacably disaffected, for whom Europe is usually the overriding issue of dissent, and MPs with vulnerable majorities. Those praying for a Tory apocalypse on May 5 and June 9 believe only that outcome will whip the Conservative parliamentary party into such a frenzy that the party elders have to act, or that Mr Major will decide to fall on his sword.

The arithmetic is well-known. A contest can be sparked if 35 MPs, 10 per cent of the parliamentary party, remain sufficiently steamed-up for long enough to write to

the chairman of the 1922 committee demanding an election. David Wiltshire, the loyalist MP for Spethorne, admitted yesterday that some of his colleagues were "getting close to breaking point".

Mr Carlisle, who at Easter called for the Prime Minister to quit, told the BBC *On the Record* programme: "There's almost a death wish among certain members that we do badly so that then the excuse is given to have another go at the leadership and to say perhaps that is the time to change the PM."

"If we are to have a change of leadership, then that should take place fairly quickly because... there's very little left in the Prime Minister's locker. The only thing left to Mr Major is a reshuffle which, Mr Carlisle said, was "incredibly dangerous because those he may reshuffle could well react against him".

Among the Prime Minister's critics there is no unanimity about his successor. Many have no favoured candidate; their only desire is a contest. One said yesterday: "I will happily accept the judgment of my colleagues. I know that, like me, their foremost thought will be their own futures. In those circumstances they may well make the right choice."

A family of seven were held hostage in their home in west Belfast for 25 hours by three men who fired a shell from a mortar at a security patrol. The men, who said they were IRA members, arrived on Friday night and freed the family unharmed late on Saturday. The bomb missed its target.

Police resumed digging at sites associated with Frederick West, a Gloucester builder, where they expect to find the remains of Scottish girl Anna McFall. Mr West's second wife, Rosemary, 40, will appear before Gloucester magistrates today accused of rape of an 11-year-old girl. Mrs West is also accused of causing actual bodily harm to an eight-year-old boy. Whitley Purcell, 67, of Gloucester, has been remanded on conditional bail until June 16 on a charge of raping the girl.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Protestants shot on eve of Belfast talks

Two Protestants were shot dead in a car at Garvaghy, Co Londonderry, last night. Police said they were believed to have been civilians. The shootings came on the eve of a meeting between British and Irish ministers in Belfast for the first Anglo-Irish conference since the IRA's three-day Easter ceasefire. Much of the discussion is expected to be on how to advance the peace process after the continued failure of the IRA and Sinn Féin to accept the Downing Street Declaration.

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Police resume body hunt

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Councils owed £2bn

Local authority debts caused by unpaid poll tax, council tax, rent and other sources are likely to exceed £2.1 billion, a survey published today says. It is estimated that if the arrears were collected, the average council tax bill could be cut by £100. The survey, commissioned by debt collection specialist Revenues Management Services, showed that £8.5 billion is owed to 131 councils in England and Wales. About 25 per cent of this will be written off. The survey also says that £315 million of council tax will go uncollected.

Clue to missing child

Greek police were last night said to be near to solving the mystery of the disappearance of Ben Needham, from Sheffield, after they arrested five men. An informer has said that Ben, who vanished from Kios two years ago, aged 24, is with a man in his 50s called Nikos who has vanished from his home in Thessaloniki.

Unwanted awards

Channel Four has joined Charter 88, the democracy lobby group, to present the *Charter 88 Bad Government Award*, to be shown on television on Sunday. Nominees include Virginia Bottomley and Kenneth Clarke. Categories include the Mark Thatcher Award for the government department with the least idea of where it is going.

Dead dolphins found

Vets are investigating the deaths of four dolphins washed ashore in Cornwall during the weekend. At least one of the dolphins, a female and possibly pregnant, is believed to have died after being caught in monofilament fishing net. Two males were found near Land's End and at Penzance, and a fourth was discovered yesterday at St Mawes.

Jobs for the girls

Thousands of girls will go to the office with their fathers this week as part of a scheme to introduce them to the world of work. Thursday's "Take Our Daughters To Work Day" is designed to give 11 to 15-year-old girls the chance to see British industry, and their fathers, at work and to help them consider different careers.

Crossword winner

The Bristol regional final of the *The Times/Knockando* crossword championship has been won by retired Group Captain Peter Hutchings of Winton, Avon. He solved the puzzle in an average time of 104 minutes each. John Harding, of Fortishead, Bristol, and Robert Cutburt, from the University of the West of England, were equal second.

Major hints at VE Day welcome for Chancellor

FROM ROGER BOYES IN BONN

THE Prime Minister offered an olive branch to Germany yesterday on the D-Day and end-of-war celebrations to try to smooth the path before what could be a bumpy meeting with Helmut Kohl, the Chancellor, later this week.

Noting that Herr Kohl had not sought an invitation to D-Day anniversary events, John Major hinted that the Chancellor would be invited to ceremonies to mark the end of hostilities next year.

In a wide-ranging interview with *Der Spiegel*, John Major also said that he was not considering resignation. "I will go when people least expect it. Until then I have still a great deal to do."

The Prime Minister's encounter with the news magazine, published today, was a far more conciliatory affair than his talk with Baroness Thatcher last year. She caused ripples in Germany when she criticised Bonn on a range of issues and made plain her distaste for Herr Kohl. Mr Major was altogether more polite.

"As far as I know, Helmut has never attempted to take part in these [D-Day] celebrations," he said. "Next year, in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war, there will be joint appearances and gestures of reconciliation. But this is not entirely up to me. They have to be discussed with many people and organisations."

The Prime Minister said that he did not share Lady Thatcher's fears about a larger Germany. "As soon as German reunification emerged as an issue, I regarded it as historically inevitable. We

welcomed it and were doubtless right to do so."

But such comments may not be enough to ease a complex summit. Germany and Britain have common views on many issues, from free trade to subsidiarity, and in some ways they have become closer than the much-reported intimacy of Paris and Bonn.

The British, however, are concerned by several matters that go well beyond the D-Day anniversary. There is worry that the coincidence of Germany taking over the European Union presidency in July, followed six months later by France, will set the European agenda in a far more substantial way than has happened in the past. Britain does not want to be sidelined in the lead-up to the 1996 conference on institutional reform in Europe.

The German presidency will concentrate on boosting the candidature of the central European states. The British fear is that Germany is setting itself up as the sole protector of central Europe in the EU. Mr Major will seek this week to present Britain as a co-sponsor of post-Communist applicants. The row over voting rights, however, has made the Poles and Hungarians suspicious of his motives.

Mr Major repeated his claim that Britain was "in the heart of Europe" — a phrase, that he first used in a Bonn speech and which was widely interpreted as the start of a new Anglo-German relationship. But many German politicians now believe the policy has not changed in substance.

Letters, page 17

MoD cuts could shut Greenwich college

By MICHAEL EVANS
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THOUSANDS of civil service jobs in the Ministry of Defence are expected to be at the top of the hit-list in a programme of sweeping changes to be examined by ministers this week.

The new threat to civil and military jobs, and other proposals that could lead to the closure of Rosyth naval base, service hospitals and the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, produced anger yesterday from MPs of all parties and from trade unions.

Winston Churchill, Tory MP for Daventry and a member of the Commons Defence Select Committee, said: "I would be strongly opposed to further significant cuts in military manpower. I think that has already gone too far." But he said he would welcome "major surgery in the case of the pen-pushers and the brolly brigade who have been the ones wielding the axe".

Gordon Brown, the shadow Chancellor, whose Dunfermline East constituency includes Rosyth, said: "I believe there will be a Tory rebellion, leaving the party in huge disarray and division if John Major tries to close Rosyth."

Large numbers of buildings, such as the staff colleges of the Royal Navy at Greenwich, southeast London, and the RAF at Bracknell, Berkshire, could be shut and joint service courses run at the army's equivalent college at Camberley, Surrey.

The biggest staff cuts are expected to be at the MoD's headquarters in Whitehall, with more than 3,000 posts likely to go, and at the procurement executive, where there could be 20 per cent reductions in the workforce of 11,000.



Philby and his wife, top. Among items she is selling are his and Burgess's hats

Philby's secrets for sale again

RUFINA Philby, the Russian widow of the infamous double agent Kim Philby, is to sell his personal papers and possessions in London for an estimated £100,000.

Philby died in Moscow in 1988 and the collection of his personal belongings will be sold at Sotheby's on July 18.

Among the 150 lots is the briefcase the former British

intelligence officer used to hold secret documents which he later passed on to the KGB, and which also be used in Moscow to carry Soviet secrets. The black bag now carries an estimate of £700-£900.

The memorabilia collected by Philby's widow from the couple's flat after his death links together her husband

and fellow spies Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean and Anthony Blunt. It contains newly-discovered material such as the text of a speech made to 300 senior KGB officials in which he reminisces about his conversion at Cambridge. Its estimate is £2,000-£2,500.

Lengthy correspondence with Graham Greene is expected to fetch up to £5,000.

Encore! Spielberg scoops the Baftas

By ALEXANDRA FREAN, MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

SCHINDLER'S List repeated its Oscars triumph by winning the British Academy of Film and Television Arts award for the best film last night. Steven Spielberg's movie, which won seven Oscars, also took the David Lean Award for best director.

Ralph Fiennes won the film's third Bafta award for best supporting actor. And in another echo of the Oscars, Holly Hunter won the award for best actress for her role in *The Piano*.

Sir Anthony Hopkins was named best leading actor for his performance in *The Remains of the Day*, while Miriam Margulies won the Bafta for best supporting actress for her performance in *The Age of Innocence*.

Helen Mirren took the award for the best actress in a television programme for the third successive year for her performance in the crime thriller *Prime Suspect III*. Robbie Coltrane won the best actor award for a television programme in *Cracker*, another police series.

Spielberg's *Jurassic Park* won the first Bafta awarded to the most popular film of the year voted by the public.

The Alexander Korda Award for the most outstanding British film of the year was won by Lord Attenborough's *Shadowlands*. Lord Attenborough was also presented with a special Bafta award from the academy.

The 25th Bafta ceremony at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, London, was hosted by Michael Aspel, and was attended by the Princess Royal, president of Bafta, Lord Attenborough, Sir David Atten-

borough, Ian Richardson, Michael Caine and Roger Moore.

A Bafta fellowship was awarded to Michael Grade, chief executive of Channel 4. Dame Thora Hird, at 83 one of Britain's best known actresses, was presented with a special award, while Joan Bakewell, presenter of the BBC's religious affairs programme *Heart of the Matter*, won the Richard Dimbleby award for the year's most important personal contribution to factual television.

Other television winners were: best single drama, *Safe* by David Thompson, Antonia Bird and Al Ashton; best comedy, *Drop the Dead Donkey* by Andy Hamilton, Guy Jenkin and Liddy Oldroyd; best light entertainment, *Rory Bremner... Who Else?*; best comedy, *Drop the Dead Donkey* by Andy Hamilton, Guy Jenkin and Liddy Oldroyd; best light entertainment performance, Richard Wilson for *One Foot in the Grave* and *One Foot in the Grave*.

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Fiennes: award for best film actor

Hurd's help

Continued from page 1
real", adding: "Serious politicians are not talking about it because they know it is not real. The Prime Minister is a man of steel; he is going to go on and people are going to want him to go on."

Mr Major will not be faced now with the task of finding a new Foreign Secretary when he carries out the reshuffle. There are expected to be extensive changes, however: perhaps the most sensitive will be the appointment of the party chairman to take the Conservatives through to the next election. Sir Norman Fowler confirmed at the weekend that he would be standing down.

The internal party warfare was fuelled by a claim from the former defence minister Sir Archibald Hamilton that Mr Heseltine's leadership election machine was already in action.

The allegation was disputed by friends of Mr Heseltine, but Sir Archibald said on the BBC *On the Record* programme: "I know Heseltine's lieutenants are working. If Michael Heseltine hasn't, as he says, claims to the leadership, I think it would be a very good idea if he told those that are working for him that this was the position and would they back off."

When he was asked if he knew people who had been approached, he said: "Yes, I do. I have heard people being approached and there is some active and open canvassing going on at the moment."

Mr Portillo's supporters suggested that more than a hundred MPs were prepared to vote for him in a leadership fight. However, embarrassed by suggestions that his speech on Friday on behalf of the "quiet majority" was a leadership bid, they accepted that he could not be expected to win any early battle.

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Witch use fear scare

Sun lamp burns man in five minutes

Tampon man

'Witches of Barling' use fear and fire to scare off outsiders

By Robin Young

AN ARSON attack that wrecked builders' equipment worth £2 million yesterday may be part of a destructive campaign against development around an historic commuter village in Essex.

Twelve vehicles, including bulldozers, trucks and diggers, were set ablaze at a planned waste tip, which has generated strong opposition among villagers at Barling.

Police are investigating links with previous attacks, which began in 1988 with the destruction by a home-made bomb of a £300,000 house nearing completion in the village.

In 1991, the new floating clubhouse of a yacht club was destroyed by fire after objections by locals. The following year, a barn conversion which also drew opposition was burnt to the ground.

The yacht club membership secretary, Ben Hildman, said yesterday: "Some of the locals objected when we moved our clubhouse to Barling creek, and one night it simply went up in flames."

"Some people call villagers the Barling witches and claim they want to stay in the last century. It does seem that they



don't generally like outsiders."

Residents of Barling, who have been campaigning to halt the tip development for the past five years, had collected 4,000 signatures on their latest petition opposing it.

Work was due to begin today on a 2½-mile private road which the development company, Cory Environmental, planned to use for lorries carrying sand and gravel from the 200-acre site, which will later be used as a landfill area for domestic rubbish.

Barling, with a population of 1,320, is a sprawling village on flat Green Belt land near the Thames estuary that dates back to Saxon times. The oldest buildings are 16th century farmhouses and cottages, some with fine examples of parquetry, traditional moulded decorations in the plaster-

work of outside walls. However, these are heavily outnumbered by modern brick bungalows and semi-detached houses strung out along the village street.

Although Barling has such tokens of rural tranquillity as a duck pond and village post office and stores, it has for years been blighted by heavy lorries passing to and from local gravel pits. The villagers opposed the new road which, they argued, would send the lorries rumbling past their back doors instead of the front.

Police never found those responsible for the 1988 bomb attack, nor the arsonist who destroyed the steel-hulled converted meat barge which belonged to the yacht club in the neighbouring village of Great Wakering.

The blackened timbers of the barn conversion, burnt down in 1992, are less than a mile from the site of the latest attack.

Peter Smith, who was chairman of Barling parish council in 1988, said yesterday: "With such a history of fires you have to wonder if there is someone in the village with a grudge."

Geoff Lee, chairman of the Barling Residents' Association set up to oppose plans for the rubbish site, said yesterday: "We have always made our protests in an entirely peaceful and legitimate way. We have organised petitions and demonstrations and lobbied county councillors. We could not possibly condone this kind of thing. I am worried that it will give the community a bad name, and I am sad that it has happened."

Det Chief Insp Ray Newman, in charge of the investigation, said: "We shall be looking at all major incidents that have occurred in recent years to see if there is a link."



Two of the bulldozers destroyed by fire at Barling

Sun lamp burns man in five minutes

By A Staff Reporter

DOCTORS are trying to save the sight of a student who was blinded after using a powerful sun lamp for just five minutes.

Mark Williams, 19, of Rhondda, Mid Glamorgan, woke up blind and covered in painful blisters after accidentally pressing the wrong button on the lamp. Doctors at first gave him only a 50-50 chance of ever seeing again because he had not worn protective goggles during his sun bed session.

Specialists at East Glamorgan Hospital now believe that Mr Williams may regain his sight, but do not know how much damage has been done to his eyes.

Dr Gill Smith, who is treating Mr Williams, said: "I don't know what will happen to his sight. The burns will heal slowly without any significant scarring."

"He's being treated with morphine because his burns are so painful at the moment," his father added. "He's been in hospital a week and there's been no progress with his eyes."

Dr Smith warned sun lamp users to always wear protective goggles and read the instructions carefully. "Burns won't appear immediately. It takes a few hours, the same as with any sunburn," she said.

Laughter flows in spirit of Calman

By Joe Joseph

THE 250 friends and family who met at London's National Museum of Cartoon Art yesterday to celebrate Mel Calman's life left so infected with his cheeky spirit that even close chums bickered to have known him a little better.

Those who came to swap stories about Calman — the incorrigibly but endearingly long-faced pocket cartoonist for *The Times*, who died in February aged 62 — reflected the breadth of his interests, talents and friendships.

Writers, cartoonists, film directors, actors, musicians, journalists, even a former union boss, sipped white wine and chewed smoked salmon bagels, some of them standing, some squatting on the floor, and together creating more the mood of a convivial Sunday brunch in New York or Hampstead than any memorial service.

Norman Willis, former general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, chaired alongside Peter Stothard, editor of *The Times*; Michael Palin, the writer and actor; Michael Frayn, the playwright; David Lodge, the novelist; and the film director Stephen Frears.

Among the guests was Lady Rose, wife of Lieutenant General Sir Michael Rose, UN commander in Bosnia, who

was the subject of Calman's last *Times* cartoon. "Mel Calman gave it to me," said Lady Rose, clearly touched by the gesture.

Deborah Moggach, Calman's partner, said: "It felt great. I didn't want anything solemn. Not many of the people here are churchy. I felt Mel was here."

Miss Moggach recalled how she and Calman began their romance, complicated only by the fact that she was still "just a teeny bit married." This forced him "to send me the most unimpassioned things he could think of," which included "stuff from the filter of his washing machine."

Posy Simmonds thanked Calman for the introductions and advice he gave her when she was starting out as a cartoonist: "In one of my early cartoons I had a teddy impersonating a doll, and my words were: 'Are you going to sleep with me tonight?' Mel said, 'Aren't you fatter?'"

The tributes were drawn to a close by Schubert's Quintet in C major, one of Calman's favourites. "It may sound dreadful on the ghetto-blower," Miss Moggach said, "but tough times." It punctuated any bubble of solemnity.

Memorial service, page 18



Moggach: "I did not want anything solemn"



Calman: incorrigible but endearing cartoonist

Tampon may have killed mother

By Robin Young

A MOTHER of two is believed to have died of a rare form of blood poisoning known as toxic shock syndrome, suffered as a result of using a tampon.

Shane Edwards, 33, died in Frenchay Hospital, Bristol, in March after suffering a series of six heart attacks.

Her family intend to publish a leaflet drawing attention to the dangers of toxic shock syndrome, and want government health warnings to appear on the side of tampon packets. Mrs Edwards's death was

certified as being caused by septicaemia and cardiac arrest, but a spokeswoman for Frenchay Healthcare Trust confirmed that the doctors suspected she died of toxic shock.

In the last eight months two other women are known to have died of toxic shock syndrome in the United Kingdom. An allergy expert, Dr Jean Munro, said: "Toxic shock syndrome is most commonly caused by an infection of the lining of the womb, most probably because a tampon is left in for too long and has become contaminated." In an area where bacteria could freely breed, tampons needed to be changed frequently.

We sacked Harrods chief, say the Fayed

By Simon de Bruxelles

THE dispute over the sudden departure of the managing director of Harrods escalated yesterday with claims by the store's owners, the Fayed brothers, that he was sacked for alleged "dereliction of duty."

Peter Bolliger, a South African who took over the department store in 1991, told a Sunday newspaper that he had quit because the Harrods chairman, Mohamed Al-Fayed, wanted to run the shop himself. Mr Bolliger, who claimed credit for turning round the business, which made £50 million pre-tax profits last year, said: "You simply can't have two kings in an organisation like Harrods."

But a spokesman for the Fayed brothers yesterday denied that Mr Bolliger, who was also chairman of the Harrods subsidiary Kurt Geiger shoes, had resigned his £100,000-a-year job. He said Mr Bolliger had been sacked without compensation after a series of internal investigations.

The company said yesterday: "His dismissal followed an unfavourable internal audit of Kurt Geiger shoes and his mishandling of the administration of a £3.3 million modernisation project at Harrods distribution centre at Osterley, west London."

The company said it had agreed out of compassion to



Peter Bolliger, former Harrods managing director, and, inset, Mohamed Al-Fayed, the chairman

Mr Bolliger's family to say he had resigned for personal reasons. Following the publicity, however, it wanted to set the record straight.

Mr Bolliger had received a final formal warning over his handling of the dismissal of another Harrods manager who had failed to take appropriate action against an employee who had lied about his qualifications. The statement said Mr Bolliger had ignored the Fayed's instructions to sack the manager

summarily and had instead arranged a £22,000 pay-off.

In contrast, Mr Bolliger told *The Mail on Sunday* he had left the job because Mohamed Al-Fayed wanted to do everything from "slicing the salami" to looking after the day to day running of the store.

Mr Bolliger said he had worked 70-hour weeks to turn the store into a hugely profitable business. "When I started it was overstaffed, overstocked and badly man-

aged. I have done a great job at Harrods and that is something no one can take away from me."

He claimed that Mohamed Al-Fayed was "totally surprised" when he resigned. But the company replied yesterday: "The chairman of Harrods, Mr Mohamed Al-Fayed, was not surprised when Mr Bolliger resigned because Mr Bolliger did not resign. He received his letter of dismissal by hand on Tuesday having been given a

final warning letter the previous week. There was no row. Mr Bolliger went with hardly a word."

Mr Bolliger, who is moving out of his four-storey company home, yesterday admitted: "I had a warning letter and on the same day I resigned." He refused to comment on the store's other claims and said: "I just want to leave it all behind me."

His successor is Clive de Boer, former deputy managing director.



"It was impossible. But if anyone could do it, we could."

On May 4th 1990, Erling Kagge the first operation on the first tiny achieved the impossible. His Norwegian team were the first ever to get to the North Pole with no outside help.

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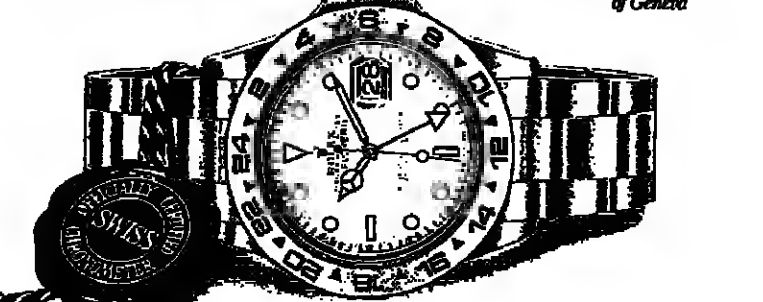
part through to the final assembly by our craftsmen in Geneva.

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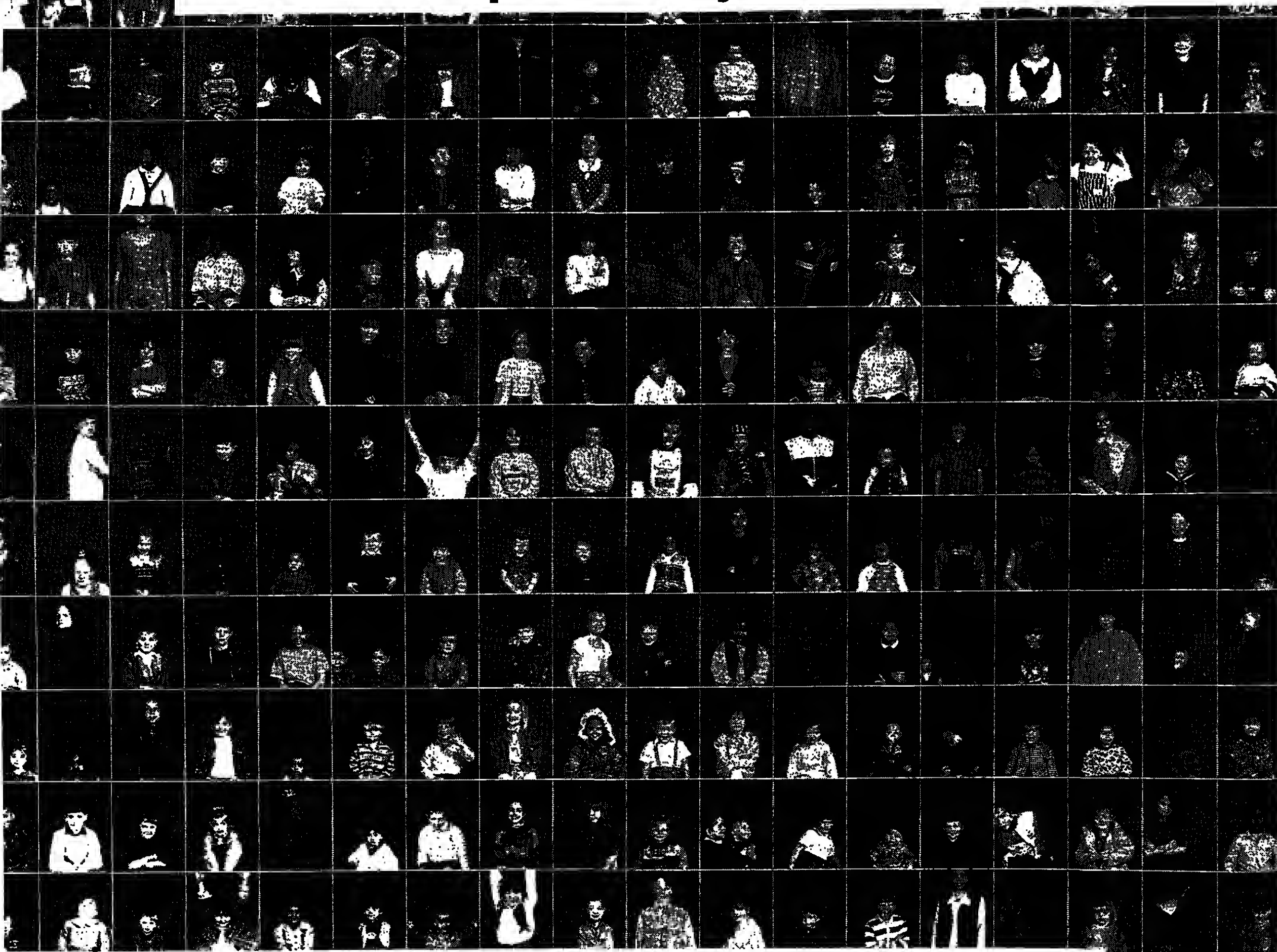
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Thankfully, the changes announced by OFTEL, the telecommunications watchdog, are as simple as possible.

At the moment all UK area codes start with an 0. Adding a 1 after the 0 will solve all our problems.

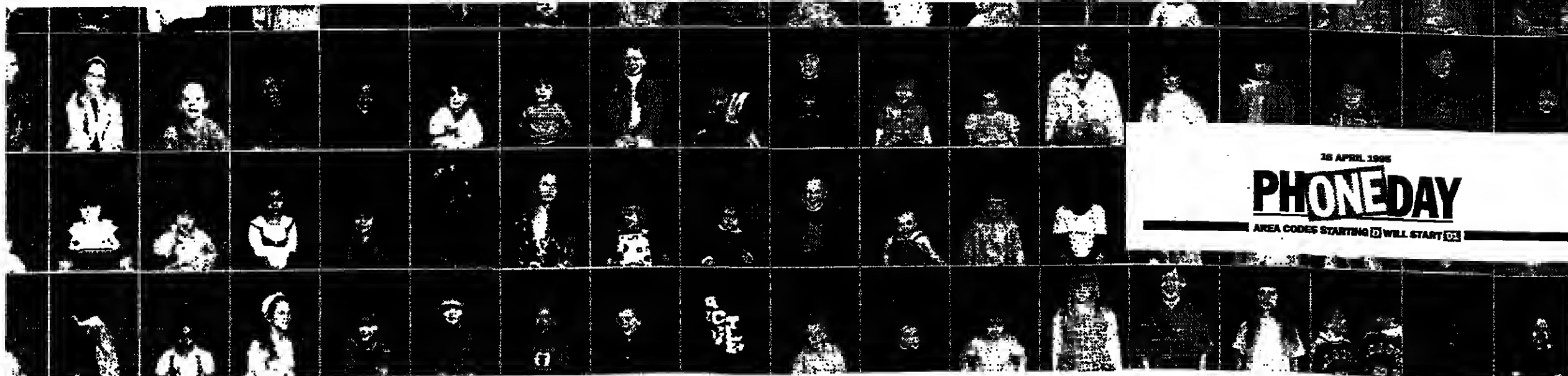
Five cities break the rule. Bristol, Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham and Sheffield.

They get totally revised numbers because of local needs. Also international codes will no longer begin 010 but 00 in order to bring us into harmony with Europe.

To help make the change happen as smoothly as possible, BT have compiled a Phoneday information pack.

So call for your free copy on **Freefone 0800 010101**.

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26 APRIL 1995
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Prison group warns Howard of riot risk from overcrowding

By RICHARD FORD, HOME CORRESPONDENT

ELEVEN jails in England and Wales are overcrowded by 40 per cent or more because of the rapid rise in prison numbers, according to a survey published today.

The serious overpopulation, particularly in the older Victorian prisons in city centres, increases the risks of disturbances and riots by inmates, the report warns. Local prisons had 16,653 prisoners in accommodation designed for 13,902 at the beginning of March, the survey found.

Prison authorities have been forced to transfer growing numbers of prisoners from the North West, one of the most overcrowded areas, to jails hundreds of miles away in the South and East. The report says this makes it difficult for families to visit and adds to resentment among prisoners.

Disused jails have been reopened and officials have contingency plans to use old army camps to cope with a

prison population which has soared from 40,600 at the end of 1992 to 48,000 this month.

In the year ending February 1994, the prison population increased by 12 per cent, according to the survey published by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (Nacro).

The survey warns Michael Howard, the Home Secretary who has insisted that "prison works", that overcrowding is likely to result in more embittered people leaving the 133 jails in England and Wales.

Paul Cavadino, of Nacro, said: "The overuse of prison is a recipe for rioting in prisons and reoffending on release. Whilst prison is necessary for serious offenders, it is crucial that in other cases we should return to a sense of using it sparingly."

Prisons with the worst overcrowding included Leicester, with 344 prisoners in a jail designed for 177; Suresbury,

with 288 inmates in premises built for 168; and Chelmsford, with 365 men in accommodation designed for 217.

The surge in the prison population — reflecting strong demands in the media and from politicians for tougher sentencing — shows no sign of abating. Overcrowding has already forced a delay in the timetable for ending slopping out and the prison service is planning for a total prison population of 53,700 by the year 2000. Nacro said that cramped and unpleasant physical conditions resulted in restricted regimes.

The Government has ordered a multi-million pound programme to build new prisons including one at Bridgend, Mid Glamorgan, another at Fazakerley in Liverpool, and a £120 million programme to build additional cell blocks in existing prisons to hold 2,000 prisoners. A further four jails will be built with private sector finance.



Zasha Price is pledging to pull no punches in her challenge to the ABA ban on professional women boxers

Legal fight for boxer

A DENTAL nurse and legal secretary is challenging the Amateur Boxing Association for the right to fight in the ring. Zasha Price, 21, is threatening legal action, alleging sex discrimination.

Her fight follows a letter sent by the association to Ryde Amateur Boxing Club on the Isle of Wight, where

she trains, warning that women are not allowed to spar, let alone box competitively.

Brian Sprooles, the club's head coach, said: "When Zasha first came to the club a lot of the guys took the

mickey. But everybody was sooo impressed by her ability. I think she could make it as pro if women's boxing is allowed."

Miss Price wants to box competitively, like her fiancé Pete Mitchell, 29, who has

had 25 bouts. "Women can compete in karate, judo and other similar sports, why not boxing?" she said. "Boxing is not any more dangerous than any other combat sport. I think some people at the ABA just see boxing as a total male ego thing — that attitude is not only sexually biased but outdated."

Pressure from Tories postpones Panorama

By ANDREW PIERCE

CONSERVATIVE Party officials pressed the BBC to delay a *Panorama* programme on alleged corruption in Westminster council, which has been postponed from tonight until after the May council elections.

The BBC was told by Conservative Central Office that the timing of the programme, which had taken three months to make and cost about £100,000, was politically explosive as it was not balanced by an analysis of any Labour boroughs.

The party refused to comment yesterday on the cancellation only ten days before voting. The BBC insists that the programme was not scheduled for tonight and is still beset by legal difficulties.

The programme alleges that at least £50 million was diverted into helping the Tories to "buy" electoral victory in the May 1990 elections, a figure double the amount in a report by the district auditor, John Ware, the programme presenter, was said to be astonished at the delay.

Vauxhall carries an air of déjà vu

By KEVIN EASON, MOTORING CORRESPONDENT

A NEW Vauxhall that will appear in showrooms next month will boast all the solid virtues that go with one of Britain's oldest motoring names... except that it is a Japanese Isuzu.

For the Vauxhall Monterey is a "photocopied car", as a motor-industry analyst put it; a model sold by one manufacturer but made by another.

Karl Ludvigsen, head of Euromotor, gave a warning yesterday that carmakers who simply put their own badges on someone else's models could damage the prestige of their company names.

The Monterey, a four-wheel drive, carries Vauxhall's traditional Griffin badge and the publicity blurb proclaims the vehicle's "comfort, quality and equipment". Only one paragraph deep in documents handed to journalists discloses that the Monterey is "based on the highly respected Isuzu Trooper". In fact, the Monterey is a Japanese-built Isuzu Trooper, sold in this country for many years by the IM Group in the West Midlands.

The Monterey is only the latest in an increasingly long line of "lookalikes" in showrooms. Ford and Volkswagen have both announced seven-seater, multi-purpose vehicles due for launch in Europe next

spring. They are the same vehicle, apart from a few cosmetic changes, which will roll from the same production line in Portugal and be powered by the same VW engines.

In spite of the famous blue oval badge on the front, the Ford Maverick is actually a Nissan Terrano — styled by Italians, designed by Nissan's British design team and made in a Nissan factory in Spain.

Peugeot, Citroën and Fiat are all launching multi-purpose vehicles — although they are all in effect the same model.

Even Honda is rebadging the Land Rover Discovery for sale in its home market of Japan where the vehicle is known as Honda Crossroad.

In an age when car design seems already to have been derived from the same mould, it looks likely that the numbers of "photocopied" cars will grow as manufacturers seek ways to save development costs which can amount to £1 billion for one new model.

□ A windscreen wiper which thinks for itself is being tested by Europe's motor manufacturers. The wiper, which switches itself on when a magic eye spots rain on the screen, is being developed by Triplex of Birmingham.



The Vauxhall Monterey; an Isuzu in disguise

Age of innocence lost to children

By ROBIN YOUNG

ONLY 3 per cent of British children are free of worry, according to a survey published yesterday. The report says that children of 12 are more concerned about getting a job than about having fun with their friends.

The survey, the latest in a series commissioned by the bank group TSB, was based on 600 interviews with children between 12 and 18 by the researchers Taylor Nelson. The data was interpreted by Dr David Lewis, a social

psychologist, who said yesterday: "Children are missing out on the age of innocence that childhood used to be."

Dr Lewis said the survey showed that 28 per cent of youngsters were "couch potatoes", who avoid the stresses of real life by living through television and computers.

The second largest group, comprising 24 per cent of the sample, Dr Lewis called "Major's minors". They were keen to settle down and have children, and unlikely to take a radical stance. Hard-working, ambitious and achieving young people, whom Dr Lewis dubbed Branson's babies, accounted for 23 per cent of the sample.

A group of 22 per cent was identified as New Punks, whose "party on, pay later" attitude Dr Lewis saw as disguising a fear that the world was falling apart. Only 3 per cent were what he called "the disappearing breed of Byteenies, still in the world of Enid Blyton". □ More American teenagers are having babies, getting arrested or being shot to death each year, according to a portrait of American youth, which found that every two hours an American child dies from gunshot wounds.

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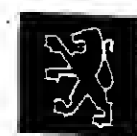
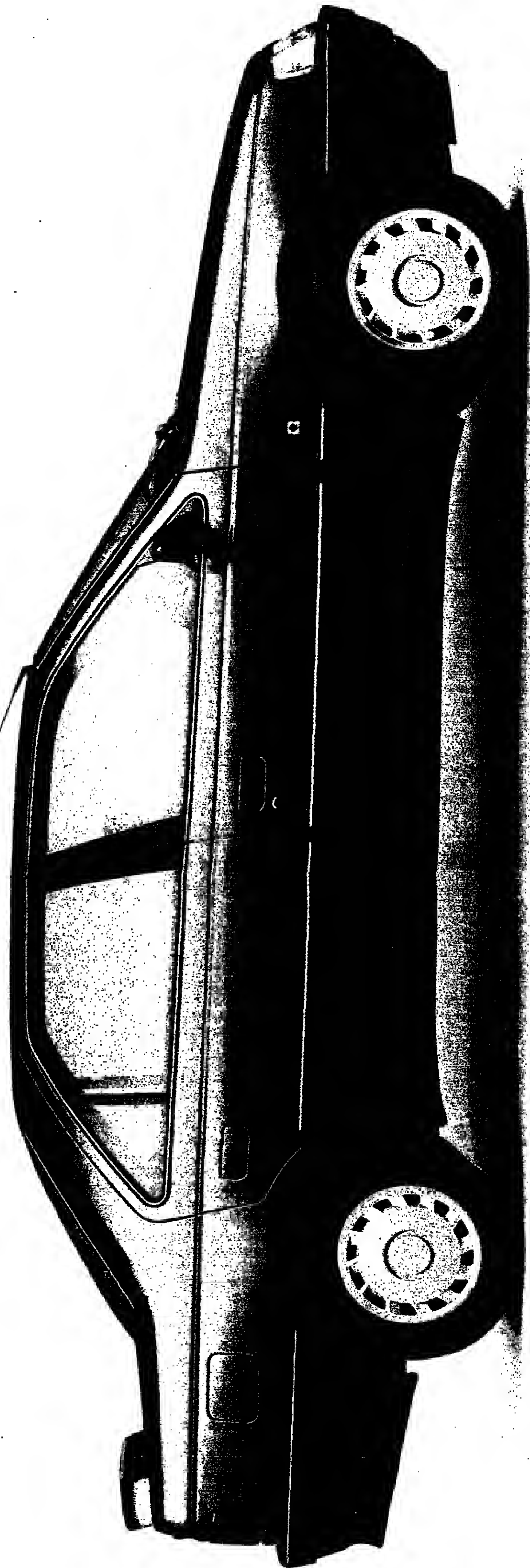
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Solo sailor set fair to smash record

BY BARRY PICKTHALL, YACHTING CORRESPONDENT

MIKE Golding, the lone yachtsman who set out from the Solent last November on a non-stop westward circumnavigation against the prevailing winds and currents, is on schedule to smash Chay Blyth's record for the voyage by 125 days.

The former Berkshire fireman was yesterday half-way between Madeira and Portugal. He is within 1,200 miles of home and aims to complete the 27,000-mile journey next Saturday after 167 days at sea. Blyth, who took 292 days to complete the odyssey 23 years ago aboard his ketch *British Steel*, said yesterday: "I have to take my hat off to him. Mike set out with the goal of clipping 100 days off my time.

He is going to do that with ease having overcome enormous problems."

So far, Golding has suffered two broken fingers, a split molar tooth and a multitude of callouses and sores that have refused to heal in the saltwater conditions. His 67ft yacht *Group 4 Securitas* has fared little better after her self-steering failed deep in the Southern ocean. The yacht's generator also burnt out, forcing Golding to ration what little emergency fuel he had. The 33-year-old yachtsman has also endured several knock-downs, where the yacht was laid flat by the storm-force conditions in the 'Roaring Forty' latitudes.

Despite this, Golding has

kept a remarkable schedule. Crossing the Equator on his outward track 16 days ahead of Blyth's record, he averaged more than eight knots over the first 6,000 miles.

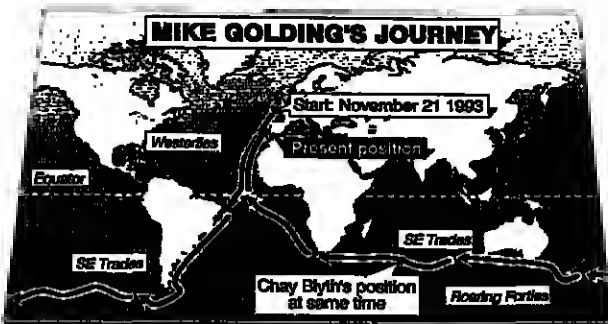
Crisis point came when *Group 4* was south of Tasmania after 96 days at sea. Suddenly, both the yacht's autopilots went on the blink and the generator powering much of his sailing and life-support systems burnt out. "I became exhausted and the thought of no self-steering, no heating, no radar to warn of other shipping, no radio communications and no lighting for the rest of the voyage filled me with despair," Golding said. When finally forced to sleep, he lashed the wheel to keep his yacht in the right direction but found when he woke up that the lashing had come undone and *Group 4* had been blown wildly off-course.

What kept him going was encouragement from Blyth and practical support from equipment manufacturers and fellow yachtsmen.

Mike Golding's account of his voyage will appear in *Weekend* on Saturday



Mike Golding, due home on Saturday having overcome enormous problems



Hairs hold secret of iceman's diet

BY SIMON DE BRUXELLES

THE Austrian iceman who froze to death on an alpine glacier 5,000 years ago is to reveal the secrets of his prehistoric diet to British scientists.

With the help of a few strands of hair, Dr Don Brothwell, professor of palaeoecology at York University, will determine what the iceman ate and the seasonal variations in his diet. The research will give one of the most detailed insights yet into the life of the neolithic tribesman who died at the age of 35, 2,000 years before the birth of Moses.

The iceman, the oldest intact human being yet discovered, was found frozen in the Ötztal Alps in September 1991. The body was so well

preserved that at first it was thought the corpse was that of a modern-day climber. But his straw cape and prehistoric copper axe indicated that he was from the neolithic era. Later, radio carbon dating confirmed he had lived about 5,300 years ago.

Although the corpse was completely bald — the result of drying out of the skin after death and the abrasive action of the ice — hairs recovered from the surrounding area and his clothing reveal that in life the iceman had a short beard, as well as a good head of hair.

Dr Brothwell will use equipment at Oxford's nuclear physics laboratory to analyse minerals, nutrients and trace elements in the hair, which will give a good guide to the iceman's diet.

Dr Brothwell said: "We won't be able to say that he ate nothing but pork sausages for three months of the year, but we will be able to work out whether he consumed a high proportion of meat, vegetables or dairy products at particular times."

The body has been kept on ice at Innsbruck University while scientists develop methods of studying it without causing irreparable damage.



Iceman: research shows that he had a short beard

Leading article, page 17

KEENE on CHESS

BY RAYMOND KEENE
CHESS CORRESPONDENT

Kasparov crushed

The world champion Garry Kasparov was eliminated in the quarter-final of the Speed Chess Championship in the Kremlin, Moscow. In a game widely described as one of the most violent in chess history, the 18-year-old Russian Vladimir Kramnik launched a cascade of sacrifices and evaded Kasparov's counter-attack with a bold king march to force the win.

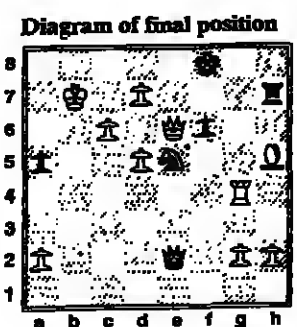
Short out

Nigel Short was also eliminated at the quarter-final stage by the Ukrainian grandmaster Vassily Ivanchuk, who won both games against him.

White: Vladimir Kramnik
Black: Garry Kasparov
PCA Speed Chess
Moscow 1994

King's Indian Defence

- | | |
|----------|------|
| 1 Nf3 | Nf6 |
| 2 c4 | g6 |
| 3 Nc3 | Bg7 |
| 4 e4 | O-O |
| 5 e5 | d5 |
| 6 Be2 | Nbd7 |
| 7 d5 | Ng4 |
| 8 Be3 | h5 |
| 9 Bc5 | h6 |
| 10 Bh4 | Nf6 |
| 11 Nd2 | Nf6 |
| 12 Qc2 | Bh6 |
| 13 Qc2 | c5 |
| 14 O-O-O | Qc6 |
| 15 dxc6 | Qxc6 |
| 16 Kb1 | a5 |
| 17 Na4 | c5 |
| 18 Nc3 | Be3 |
| 19 Nd5 | Bc7 |
| 20 Nb3 | Qd4 |
| 21 Nxd4 | Rb8 |
| 22 f4 | Nh6 |
| 23 Rf1 | Bxd5 |
| 24 c5 | Nf5 |
| 25 exd5 | |



Some other reports have published the extra moves 41... Nxc6 42 dxc6. These moves never occurred and would leave White with a lost game.

Results to date

In the quarter-finals, Vyzmanavin beat Korchnoi; Anand beat Malaniuk; Ivanchuk beat Short; Kramnik beat Kasparov. In the semi-final, Anand eliminated Ivanchuk and Kramnik eliminated Vyzmanavin after the latter inexplicably offered a draw when two pawns ahead with a winning position. Kramnik plays Anand in the final.

Winning Move, page 44

Gaddafi reunites British families

BY A STAFF REPORTER

NINE British mothers are set for an emotional reunion with children who were taken to Libya by their estranged Libyan husbands. Many have not seen their sons or daughters for several years.

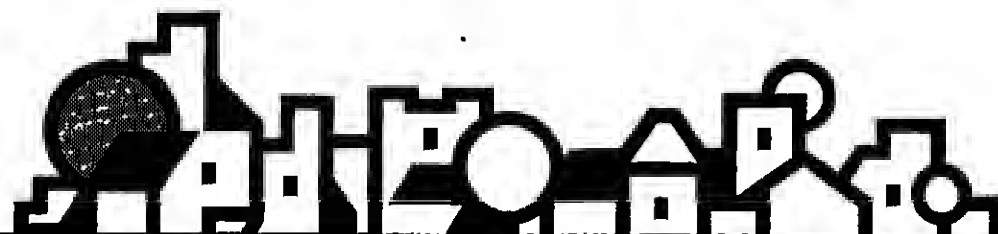
Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader, has authorised the trip, which is to take place in August. His government is funding the women's stay, which could last several weeks. The women are paying their own air fares. The breakthrough came after months of negotiations by Corinne Simcock and Ann Jouslife, London-based freelance journalists. Ms Simcock said: "The problem seems to have been that in all the years the mothers have been told by the British Government that, as Western women, they have no rights in Libya, nobody had actually bothered to ask the Libyans."

Children First has been set up to pursue more visits to countries where children have been taken by their fathers. Roger Haywood, the acting chairman, said: "What is really difficult is that these children will have stopped speaking English."

Why he chooses The Times



Philip Wheatcroft, a sub-postmaster from Sutton Coldfield, West Midlands, switched from *The Daily Telegraph* to *The Times* to take advantage of the price cut. He is very happy with what he discovered. "I like the news coverage and have found that the financial section is comprehensive," he said. "It took a little time to get used to the different styles of the columnists but I like them now."



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YOUR HOME IS AT RISK IF YOU DO NOT KEEP UP REPAYMENTS ON A MORTGAGE OR OTHER LOAN SECURED ON IT.

Younger generation rises up to throw off the yoke of subservience and isolation

BY CATHERINE MILTON

“ Farmers don’t discuss things with their wives probably because they don’t think they are up to sharing problems ”

Norma Baxter, of Sykehouse in South Yorkshire, wrote to defend traditional farming families and farmers, whose own suicide rate is

Further letters followed, including one from a wife who preferred to remain anonymous. She wrote: "I can guarantee most farmers would not even consider washing up or wiping up — rest being taken for granted."

Pauline Pullin, who counsels distressed farming folk and is married to a farmer, said Britain's 100,000 farming families were facing great strains. "There is increasing financial pressure and isolation as more farmers leave the land, dissatisfied with the poor rewards for long hours of lambing, calving or crop-growing, or are simply forced out by lack of money. The women do find the isolation harder than the men. Farmers go to market less these days. You met other farmers' wives when you went to market."

She added: "Farmers as a group tend to be bad at expressing their feelings or sharing problems. They don't discuss things with their wives probably because they don't think their wives are up to sharing the problems."

But she said: "This next generation coming through is not prepared to wait on their men when they come through the door. They see farming as much more of a partnership with their husbands."



Carol Morris, top, with her husband on their farm and, left, at the playgroup where she works part-time. Right, the Baxters on their farm at Sykehouse

By STEWART TENDLER
CRIME CORRESPONDENT

Paul Condon, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, has privately told the Home Office his force will provide men to test the sprays, which were developed by a Montana forest ranger looking for a way to halt bears. Chief constables are waiting for agreement from Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, to authorise trials.

The sprays are also being examined in a review of protective equipment by Larry Roach, the Deputy Assistant Commissioner, who is due to report shortly.

Produced in the United States, the one ounce spray provides 25 one-second bursts. Made with Oleoresin Capsicum, derived from cayenne pepper, the sprays are used by 40 US and Canadian forces. They cause facial burning, coughing and shortness of breath for about a minute.

Yard supporters of the sprays say they would halt the slide towards arming all officer. The sprays would give an officer a chance to defend himself and also to disarm and arrest the attacker.

One senior officer said: "Body armour would help me if the danger was stabbing but it does not give me the chance to take someone out. It's not a panacea but if I was a PC I would think it was a very good option indeed. A gun only has one use. It is lethal."

All officers on the beat would carry the sprays, saving them from wearing body armour. Because they cause no lasting injury, officers would not face the risk of litigation over their use.

□ The price of guns being sold on the black market has dropped, indicating a plentiful supply, according to the head of the Flying Squad. Det Chief Supt Bill Griffiths said a handgun could be bought for a few hundred pounds, while an automatic weapon would cost four figures.

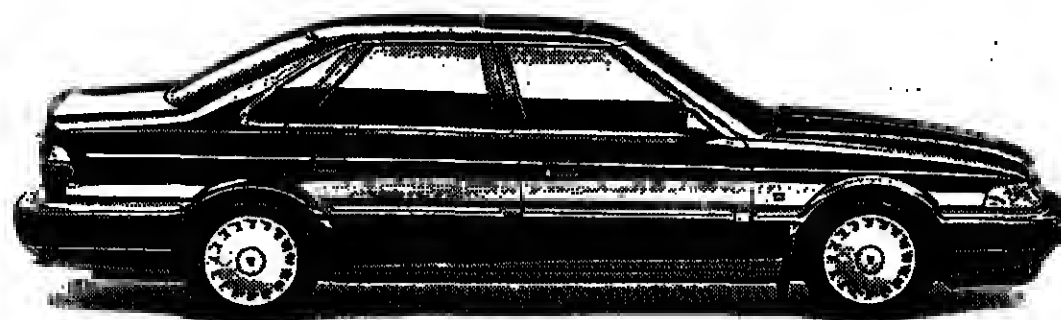


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arresting
powers
of pepper

Taylor backs protests over curbing right to silence

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

LORD Taylor of Gosforth, the Lord Chief Justice, is to join the mounting opposition to government proposals to curb a suspect's right to silence. He will support calls for improved safeguards for defendants.

Lord Taylor, who has already forced a climbdown by Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, over the right to silence at trial, is concerned that the proposals — which have a second reading in the Lords today — are too widely drawn.

The right to silence proposals have been attacked across the political spectrum and provoked criticism from the Police Federation, the Society of Conservative Lawyers, the Law Society, the Bar and

tives and private security guards.

Lord Taylor is understood to favour an amendment to ensure that comment or inferences on a suspect's silence runs only from the point when a caution is given.

So far, the Government has resisted changes to clarify the point from which the right to silence provisions apply. Tony Blair, Labour's home affairs spokesman, and Sir Ivan Lawrence QC, chairman of the Home Affairs Select Committee, both failed with moves to prevent comment on silence unless it occurred in an interview in which safeguards enshrined in the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 were operating.

The Home Secretary, who rejected the moves on the ground that it was for the courts to decide what evidence to admit, is likely to have to think again.

Lord Taylor has already forced a government retreat over changes to remove the requirement that judges would have to call into the witness box a defendant who refused to answer questions.

The Government is expected to face strong opposition over the right to silence proposals among peers including Lord Runciman of Doxford, who chaired the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice, Lord Ackner, a former law lord, and Lord Alexander of Weordon QC, chairman of Justice.

Two leading barristers have concluded that the right to silence provisions are likely to be in breach of article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which protects the right to a fair trial and the presumption of innocence.

In an opinion commissioned by Liberty, Richard Mander QC and Peter Duffy say the Government would be in serious danger of breaching its international obligations. A similar opinion commissioned by Justice from Roy Amler QC comes to the same conclusion.

Justice, the law reform group. They would enable inferences to be drawn in court about a suspect's failure to answer police questions, as allowed in Northern Ireland.

Lord Taylor is not against the principle of the proposals. However, he is understood to share concerns expressed on all sides that clause 32 has been drafted too widely, allowing evidence to be given about a defendant's silence before he or she has any idea what the questions are about.

He is also concerned that the clause leaves unclear whether the provisions would apply only to interviews conducted by police officers, or whether they would extend to conversations with store detec-



Mother Mary Augustine and other Carmelite sisters at the convent in Chichester, West Sussex, which is welcoming prospective buyers

Convent opens door to buyers

THE nuns at a Chichester convent have opened their doors to outsiders for the first time in 123 years to show potential purchasers around their retreat (Simoo de Bruxelles writes).

Property developers, hoteliers and others have been tramping across the red and white floor of the cloisters, which until now had echoed to the sound of feet but rarely of voices. Although speaking

is not banned among the Carmelite sisters, it is discouraged in favour of silent contemplation.

The sisters have lived in a closed community at the West Sussex convent since it was built in 1871. Now the community is dispersing and the building is to be sold. Age has caught up with the 13 remain-

ing sisters: the eldest is 94 and five are in their eighties. Time has depleted their ranks and only one new sister has taken her final vows at the convent in nearly 40 years.

The prioress, Mother Mary Augustine, said: "The community is not getting any younger and women sadly rarely take holy orders nowa-

days. It was realised it would be unrealistic to continue here."

The convent, designed by the architect Charles Buckler, stands in 30 acres of grounds, some of which will be included in the purchase price of about £650,000. Before it was placed on the market, visitors were rarely permitted beyond

a metal grill at the front door. The nuns take a vow not to leave the convent and to devote their lives to prayer. "We are 'closed' because we have chosen to place a little distance between ourselves and the world," Mother Mary Augustine said.

There are about two dozen Carmelite communities in Britain and the Chichester sisters will spend their remaining days with them.

London leads the way to housing recovery

By RACHEL KELLY, PROPERTY CORRESPONDENT

THE recovery in the London housing market is well under way and spreading to the Home Counties, according to market analysts and estate agents.

Prices of prime London properties have risen 5 per cent since Christmas and are still rising, figures from Savills show. The estate agency chain believes that the increases support its forecast that prices will have risen 25 per cent in the capital by the end of the year.

Ms Barnes said that the turnaround had started with large houses in areas including Belgravia and Knights-

bridge but has spread to flats in areas such as Docklands. There was evidence that recovery was spreading to the Home Counties and beyond.

Other estate agents are seeing significant price rises. Lorna Vestey, a director from Knight Frank & Rutley, said: "The market has continued to improve and our central London offices have found an overall rise averaging 4 to 5 per cent from January to April this year," she said.

But while housing market analysts agreed that prices have risen at the top end of the London market, they said that the pattern is uneven. Robert Villiers, analyst at the City brokers

UBS, said: "At the top end of the market, demand is outstripping supply. Part of the problem with supply is distortions in the market because of the number of homeowners who have negative equity. These are clearly not selling, therefore reducing supply."

The Nationwide Building Society has spent thousands of pounds restoring Netherby Hall, a stately home near Carlisle, after it was repossessed 18 months ago.

The society said that it had to undertake the work on the listed building, including a new roof, before it could be put on the market. The house is being offered for £550,000.

The account is overdrawn by £100 for 3 days each month. These are overdraft charges only. They do not take account of interest, credit or debit. Charges correct as at 17.3.94.

The society said that it had to undertake the work on the listed building, including a new roof, before it could be put on the market. The house is being offered for £550,000.

NEWS IN BRIEF

AA warns of air-bag dangers

Drivers of cars fitted with air-bags should not put babies in rear-facing carriers strapped to the front passenger seat, according to the AA. A spokesman said the organisation would like to see more investigation into the use and suitability of air-bags, which inflate from the dashboard area in an accident to cushion the occupants.

Reports from America suggest that the bags can inflate with sufficient force to suffocate children.

Left sitting

Burglars ran off when the owner returned to the house they were robbing in Stokesley, North Yorkshire, and grabbed their getaway car keys. They left behind their disabled driver and his specially adapted car.

Drug charges

Two Britons and three Turks will appear before magistrates today at Old Street, London, charged with drug offences after police in east London seized 20kg of heroin worth £6 million.

On a plate

Nottinghamshire County Council is £50,000 better off after selling 1 ANN, a number plate it presented to the Princess Royal in 1973 and which ended up on a meals-on-wheels van.

Secrets blunder

The Royal Navy is investigating how confidential papers, including career assessments of three senior officers, were faxed to a Portsmouth newspaper instead of to the Flag Office, Plymouth.

Branch line

A plant hire firm in Liskeard, Cornwall, has invited BR to see a machine which can cut tree branches 40ft from the tracks, thus doing away with the autumn problem of leaves on the line.

Rock of ages

Ulverston in Cumbria is claiming to be the birthplace of rock 'n' roll after discovering that Bill Haley's mother, Maude Green, was a piano teacher in the town.



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Fall of the Wall gives rise to intellectual right

BOTH Strauss's latest play *Das Gleichgewicht* (Equilibrium) is currently playing at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin. Its theme of father-son conflict is given a new twist, a reactionary son who attacks his liberal father. A sign of the times? Indeed. The play is another gust in the stormy debate about the growing appeal of the intellectual right in Germany.

Even more importantly, the controversy over Strauss's essay in *Der Spiegel*, "Anschwellender Bocksgesang" (Swelling Tragic Chorus), has heightened an acrimonious exchange with the playwright and Ignatz Bubis, chairman of the Jewish Central Council in Germany. In an interview in *Der Tagesspiegel*, Bubis castigated Strauss as a "phenomenon of intellectual right-wing radicalism", asserting his responsibility for a change of mood in Germany which ultimately led to arson (a coded reference for the recent anti-semitic attack on the Lubbeck synagogue).

Strauss broke his long silence in this week's *Der Spiegel* to defend his criticism of political correctness, saying that the debate had reached a point in Germany where morbid sensitivities prevailed in

The war of words between left and right in Germany is reaching new heights. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke traces its origins

The Times Essay

the place of free speech. This exchange is but the most recent bout in a paper war among Germany's writers and intellectuals about the eclipse of left-wing attitudes and the emergence of a *salonfähig* (socially respectable) right-wing discourse since 1990. It is no accident that the debate commenced with unification, for the collapse of East Germany (DDR) contributed to a loss of confidence among the West German left.

For years the DDR, despite the Wall, its oppressive bureaucracy and the restrictions of a police state, had served the West German left as a model — a real socialist alternative to the brash materialist society of capitalist West Germany. As early as 1949, the new post-war generation of West German writers such as Heinrich Böll, Günter Grass and Walter Jens had viewed with misgivings the foundation of the two Ger-

man states. As members of Group 47, which presided over the revival of Western German letters, these writers were united in the 1960s in attitudes of utopian anti-capitalism and moral criticism of the human cost of a rapacious free market economy.

For those who did not have to live there, the DDR seemed a gentle sort of place. Life apparently maintained its human quality and this was attributed to the absence of Western investment and capitalist exploitation.

The same group of West German writers and intellectuals who had regretted the lost opportunity for a neutral, socialist Germany in 1949 leapt to the defence of the DDR in 1990. While the DDR writers wanted to retain their status, the West German literary intellectuals saw again the chance to create a "third way", a new state run on democratic and socialist lines having cast off its Stalinist

restrictions and isolation but resisting the embrace of international capital.

The eager crowds of DDR citizens surging through the broken Wall in search of consumer goods and hard currency represented a fatal betrayal of the intellectuals' values and hopes in both East and West Germany.

But the collapse and discrediting of the DDR do not alone explain the crisis on the West German left. In the autumn of 1990, strident voices could be heard calling into question the ideological consensus of post-war German literature and its sympathy for left-wing discourse. Frank Schirrmacher, literary editor of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, and Ulrich Greiner, of *Die Zeit*, challenged the credentials of Group 47 as Germany's literary conscience.

Schirrmacher saw the unification of Germany putting an end to the protected status of West German authors whose prestige rested on their definition of a new democratic and politically acceptable German identity. The faces in the class photographs of Group 47 had not changed from 1960 to 1990, except that they had grown older. In the



The crowds surging through the broken Wall led to a paper war about the eclipse of left-wing attitudes

canon of Group 47, history was a closed book, the Nazi past was a bad childhood memory, and the new West German identity was frozen in the eternal youth of a fresh start which endured until reunification in 1990. By then it was trapped in a sterile didactic role.

There was widespread left-dismay when Strauss joined the new anti-liberal discourse. As the author of 13 plays with more than 400 performances in 30 countries

over the past 20 years, Strauss was a serious loss to the left-liberal camp. "Anschwellender Bocksgesang" protested at the media-led hue and cry against xenophobia in Germany. Racist attacks on asylum-seekers and Turkish guestworkers were creating a backlash of self-contempt among Germans. He denounced the television talk shows rehearsing the humbug of politically correct opinions as a one-dimensional discourse with totalitarian

implications. Strauss is anxious about the spiritual health of a society that wishes to liquidate history and traditions to create a society of individuals who have no past and are, as a result, no different from one another. He exalts the authentic individual over the conforming masses.

Given the anti-modernist discontent that hobbled the Weimar Republic, it is understandable that the left views the new right-wing discourse

with apprehension. However, Strauss's pleas for tradition and an awareness of the past, his protest at uniformity and political correctness, and his conservatism are encouraging signs that German public opinion is now sufficiently flexible to accommodate a wider spectrum of political attitudes than was possible under the tutelage of a left-liberal consensus.

□ Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke is author of *The Occult Roots of Nazism*

Asians say 'greedy council' is adding to race tension

By Richard Ford
HOME CORRESPONDENT



Khabra: concerned at council's decision

RELIGIOUS tension between Hindus and Muslims is being fuelled by a council's drive to secure the highest price for the sale of a disused town hall.

The town hall in Southall, west London, is next to the Vishwa Hindu temple, which wanted to expand its facilities, and bid £571,000 for the building. However, £600,000 was bid by a Muslim mosque. When the bidding closed, Ealing council decided it could get more money and asked both to tender with a minimum bid of £600,000.

Community leaders have warned of the danger of inter-communal strife if a mosque is put next to a temple.

Leaders of the two communities in the overwhelmingly Asian district have accused the Conservative-controlled council of risking good community relations by demanding that the Hindus and Muslims rebid for the building.

The dispute is likely to be settled in the Court of Appeal after the committee of the Abubakar mosque challenged the council's decision to hold a second tendering operation.

Sikander Hassan, general secretary of the mosque, said: "We bid in good faith for this building and put in the highest bid, then the council decided it wanted the two largest bidders to enter a gazumping race and rebid. It is unfair. We have lived here peacefully for 30 years but they have

made us fight for the town hall. This is all the council's fault. It has put one community against the other for pure greed."

Graham Nickson, research assistant to Piara Singh Khabra, Labour MP for Ealing Southall, said: "The council is creating unnecessary tension to the community to the pursuit of excess profit."

Roshan Lal Bhanbani, chairman of the Vishwa temple trust, said: "There are few mosques and temples adjacent to each other and we fear that if there are difficulties between India and Pakistan, it might cause trouble here between Hindus and Muslims."

Within a few weeks, the dispute is expected to reach the Court of Appeal after a High Court judgment that the council had acted unreasonably in demanding that the Muslims and Hindus rebid for the building. The council is appealing against that ruling.

Police chiefs to cut help for TV crime shows

By a Staff Reporter

POLICE are to reduce the help they give to producers of television crime-reconstruction programmes after claims that the shows increase public fears of crime.

A Scotland Yard internal paper setting out guidelines for officers assisting programme-makers has been endorsed by Paul Condon, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner. The Association of Chief Police Officers (Acpo) will next month consider whether forces across the country should adopt the paper.

Although no programmes are named to the document, it is thought to be aimed mainly at shows such as *Crime Limited* and *Michael Winner's True Crimes*, which have been criticised for lurid depictions of past offences. Programmes such as *Crime-watch UK*, covering current investigations to encourage those with information to come forward and are considered highly useful by police, would not be affected.

An Acpo spokesman said chief constables had to decide whether providing information to the media on old cases for entertainment purposes was the best use of officers' time. "The interests of the police, the public and certainly the victims of these crimes need to be considered very carefully."

Successful Article Writing

The opportunities for article writers have never been greater — there has been a huge growth in the number of "niche" magazines, serving just about every special interest conceivable. In addition, there has been a large increase in other publications including local papers, newsletters and international media.

A new book, *Successful Article Writing*, shows how to turn an idea into saleable copy. It is of vital interest to writers or would-be writers. Here are a few facts from this book:

- Ideas and where to find them.
- How and where to find new markets for your writing.
- The importance of research — how and where to find anything you need to know before you write.
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This book shows you how to get ahead and establish yourself with editors who pay reliably and well. To order your copy of *Successful Article Writing* send your name, address, the book title and your payment (cheque or Visa/Access) of £12.95 which includes postage and packaging to: Carnell Ltd, Dept. 541, Alresford, Hants, RG24 0AP, allowing up to 14 days for delivery. You can return this book at any time for a full refund if not completely satisfied.

TEXACO

A major breakthrough in petrol technology. As discovered by a chiropodist from Iowa.

"I didn't discover it in a gas station. Or a lab. But a car lot."

I'd driven over to Al's CARS-U-LIKE to look for another car. (My wife reckons I change cars more often than some of my clients change socks.)

Out on the lot, was Al. All false smiles and fake Armeni. What I wanted was real enough. More oomph. More economy. Lower emissions. In short, a shiny new car with a shiny new engine.

Al was not convinced. Pretty soon he'd steered the conversation from cars, to petrol.

Opening my car's hood, Al instructed me to examine the offending lump of metal.

"Keep your engine's insides clean, and you'll have oomph, economy and lower emissions in spades," he said.

A man who clearly liked the sound of his own voice, Al continued: "Problem is, most fancy petrols with a detergent clean some parts, like valves and injectors, but not others. In fact some leave a combustion chamber filthier than a Mississippi hog in a mudbath." He handed me a part to look at. Al seemed to know his engines. And his hogs.

And his petrol. New CleanSystem³ from Texaco, he explained, was the only fuel to clean not just valves and injectors, but

through to the combustion chamber.

He concluded that to find out more, I'd have to conduct a simple experiment. Fill up with Texaco's New CleanSystem³ and take it for a test drive.

The results were conclusive.

New CleanSystem³ not only got to work from the first tankful, but regular use cut emissions, increased economy and performance.

If I were you, I'd pop into your local Texaco service station and test drive it today.

It was one giant leap for me, a chiropodist.

But it's just one short step for you."

NEW CleanSystem³ PETROL
Test drive it today

Stain of Watergate haunted elder statesman despite his triumphs on international stage

Spirit of forgiveness as US bids Nixon farewell

FROM IAN BRODIE
IN WASHINGTON

Americans chose not to speak ill of the dead yesterday, concentrating on the statesmanship of Richard Nixon's foreign policy as President rather than the Watergate crimes that drove him from office.

There was a widespread spirit of forgiveness in both public and private comments about the 37th US President who died on Friday evening, aged 81, four days after a paralyzing stroke. His daughters, Julie Eisenhower and Tricia Cox, were at his side. He was 81.

The 20 years since Mr Nixon's resignation have taken the sting out of Watergate, in large measure through his own quiet dignity and resili-

■ In the 20 years since the break-in, Richard Nixon's dignity, resilience and intellect has for many people obliterated the image of a disgraced public figure

Nixon's request, based on his unhappy memories of Capitol Hill where, shortly before he left office, the House judiciary committee voted to recommend his impeachment.

President Clinton said he had an "unusual but prized relationship" with Mr Nixon who sent him letters and offered advice. In his official proclamation, Mr Clinton quoted a passage from one of Mr Nixon's books that he thought an appropriate epitaph. It said: "I believe that the richness of life is not measured by its length but by its breadth, its height and its depth." Mr Nixon, however, once admitted that, for all his efforts to eradicate the stain of Watergate, history's epitaph would still read "resigned in disgrace" rather than "elder statesman". The Clinton proclamation did not mention Watergate directly, but said of Mr Nixon: "He suffered defeats that would have ended most political careers, yet he won stunning victories that many of the world's most popular leaders have failed to attain."

Henry Kissinger, Mr Nixon's celebrated Secretary of State, said: "He made many mistakes, but his achievements far outweighed them." Boris Yeltsin, who refused to meet Mr Nixon in Moscow last month after he met the Russian President's political foes, said he was "shocked by the death of an extraordinary man, one of the greatest politicians in the world". In Hanoi, repeatedly bombed by US aircraft on Mr Nixon's orders during the Vietnam War, a spokesman said tersely: "May he rest in peace."

ience in rising from the ashes. As a consequence, his passing is being treated as a solemn occasion of state. Flags will fly at half-mast for 30 days. Wednesday, the day of the funeral, will be a national day of mourning when government offices will be closed and there will be no post. Tomorrow Mr Nixon's body will be flown from New York to California on one of the government 707s that served as the presidential jet in his day. It will lie in state in a closed coffin at the Richard M. Nixon Library and birthplace at Yorba Linda, an unpretentious city 30 miles east of Los Angeles. The Rev Billy Graham will conduct the funeral service and President Clinton will give a eulogy. The four surviving ex-presidents — George Bush, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford — are all expected to attend.

But there will be no lying-in-state at the Capitol rotunda in Washington. That was at Mr

with her?" He was trying to be "with it", but he came across as leering. He suffered from a smile that was as bogus as an ill-fitting wig. He had no close friends, other than Bebe Rebozo, a Florida banker and developer who was an easy target for critics. By the time Mr Nixon ran for President against Kennedy in 1960, he was already known as Tricky Dicky.

Mr Nixon was a driven figure from a humble background who never felt comfortable with those he referred to as the "Harvards" and the "Georgetown set". He rightly suspected that there was a liberal East Coast cabal ranged against him. Brooding and vindictive, he exacted his

revenge with his famous "enemies list" which included journalists and others for whom he made trouble. Mr Nixon seldom knew how to relax. He was photographed walking along the edge of the waves on the beach below his home in San Clemente, California, wearing a business suit.

Why, then, if Americans disdained Mr Nixon's sweaty look, his uninspired wardrobe and his hectoring mode of address, did so many of them put him into office? One reason is that he represented the darker side of their emotions, their fears of blacks, hippies and Communists. The other main reason for Mr Nixon's success was his commanding mind. He could present masterly, extemporaneous assessments of a given problem. It is an odd gauge of the man that those who saw the first Nixon-Kennedy presidential debate on television knew Kennedy had won, because of Mr Nixon's perspiring appearance and shifty demean-



Richard Nixon, watched by his wife Pat, saying goodbye to staff and Cabinet at the White House in September 1974

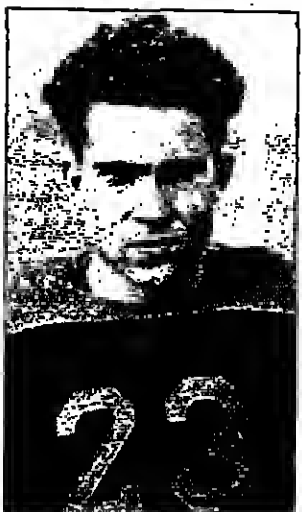
our, while those who listened on radio were convinced Mr Nixon had won. Even Mr Nixon's harshest critics acknowledge his grasp of world affairs and his imprint upon them. The first visit by an American President to the

Middle East, détente with Moscow, his ending the 20-year breach with China and the Vietnam peace negotiations were virtuoso strokes by a supreme statesman.

The abiding image from Mr Nixon's final days in the White House is of a broken figure, alternately drinking, crying, praying and talking to the portraits of his predecessors on the walls. He could have hung on, forcing Congress to go through the ugly procedure of an impeachment trial that

would have brought governance of the country to a standstill for months. At least Mr Nixon spared America that.

Tainted presidency, page 1
Leading article, page 1
Obituary, page 1



College football days during the 1930s

ANOTHER COMFORTABLE WIN FOR JAGUAR.



VOTED BEST LUXURY CAR 1993 AND 1994.

Soundbite stages on a bumpy road

By IAN BRODIE

FOR a man who claimed that he found the media difficult to handle, or even hostile, Richard Nixon often used it to great effect. The ups and downs of his career can be charted through a series of highly quotable soundbites.

□ "Pat doesn't have a mink coat. But she does have a perfectly respectable Republican cloth coat."

from the "Checkers" speech, September 1952.

□ "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference."

on failing to become California governor, November 1962.

□ "If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful nation acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world."

announcing offensive into Cambodia, April 1970.

□ "I want you all to stonewall it."

Watergate transcript of advice to staff handling the scandal, March 1973

□ "The great Silent Majority."

speech, November 1969.

□ "In all my years of public life I have never profited from public service... people have got to know whether or not their President is a crook. Well, I'm not a crook."

discussing Watergate investigation at press conference, November 1973.

□ "Always give your best, never get discouraged, never be petty; always remember, others may hate you."

address to members of his Administration on resigning from office, August 1974.

□ "When the President does it, that means it's not illegal."

interview with David Frost, May 1977.

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JAGUAR

What are dreams for, if not to come true?

Untutored voters slow to learn the ways of democracy

FROM R.W. JOHNSON
IN DURBAN

THE bomb blast yesterday outside African National Congress headquarters in Johannesburg, which occurred, symbolically enough, at the same time that a voter education meeting was going on inside, emphasises yet again how the South African election is teetering towards its climax amid a wave of violence and confusion. The bomb, which killed at least nine and injured many more, seems to have been but one of several sabotage attempts mounted by the far right, which would like to halt the election altogether. The attack will produce a fresh heightening of tension just as a more relaxed mood had begun to be felt after Chief Buthelezi's last-minute decision to participate in the election.

Even without the violence, however, the election threatens to be a shambles in many parts of the country. It is already clear that it will, for example, be a great deal less free, fair and competent



ly run than was last year's election in tiny Lesotho next door. With only days to go nobody knows even where polling stations will be in large parts of Natal. In many areas the ANC has managed to get its own activists appointed as election officers, creating a storm of protest from other parties.

In the Transkei, parties other than the ANC have been physically prevented from even inspecting polling arrangements. The Independent Election Commission, set up to organise the election on impartial terms, in fact bristles with

partisan appointees. In Pietermaritzburg a commission loudspeaker van has been caught broadcasting ANC slogans. Intimidation by both the ANC and Inkatha is widespread. The fatalities suffered by the intrepid ANC canvassers — five of whom are still missing — who ventured into the lion's den of Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital, have again dramatised the degree to which black politics is simply territorial.

Meanwhile, voter education programmes, though mounted on a huge scale, have clearly failed to reach many millions of black South Africans. It seems certain that huge numbers of ballots will be spoilt, which means a great deal will depend on the rulings about ballot validity made by those who preside over the count.

A large part of the problem derives from the fact that the ANC has been the driving force in setting the election agenda. The movement's lack of government experience at any level has led to many decisions being taken with no account of administrative difficulties in

implementation. Thus the commission was set up at least a year too late to have much of a chance of doing a competent job. Complaints about the commission's inefficiency are legion: even the lists of candidates provided by the commission last week, for example, are riddled with errors on every side.

The ANC appointees within the commission successfully argued that it should not use the Ministry of Home Affairs officials who have organised previous elections because they were "part of apartheid structures". This not only opened the door to ANC appointees in their place, but has meant that many presiding officials have never experienced an election in their life before, even as voters. Adult educators were called in and told they must train 200,000 election monitors in three months, though they would probably have been unable even to shake hands with that many people in that time.

Most seriously, the National Peace-keeping Force was set up to provide a non-partisan security force for the

election, but was given a scant eight weeks of training to knock into shape an assorted bunch of regular and homeland soldiers together with former ANC and Pan Africanist Congress guerrillas. In the teeth of every warning the force was then sent into strife-torn townships. In effect it has now simply collapsed and has had to be withdrawn in disgrace after it not only shot three photographers, killing one, but was seen to be in a state of near-mutiny and disarray on the township battlefield. In the end the ANC itself demanded the return to the townships of its old enemy, the South African Defence Force.

It is clear, however, that not even the latest state of bomb attacks will be allowed to dent the upbeat, indeed euphoric, media blitz which pours forth from every television and radio station and most newspapers. Both the government and the ANC have, in effect, already decided that this week will see the birth of a newly united nation. Any news items which detract from this upbeat picture tend to be swept under

the carpet as far as possible. There is little doubt that yesterday's bombs will produce a tough crackdown on the far right, but one should not expect too many details of this to get into the local press, even if the new laws against preventive detention get bent in the process. Indeed, it already seems likely that some of the news of far-right sabotage is itself being censored.

In a sense, none of the violence will be allowed to matter. Already the election commission and the media insist that the election will, without question, be free and fair — for this is now a political necessity, whatever the shambles, the distortions and the violence that the far right can mount between now and election day.

The far right contains some tough nuts, but its support continues to shrink: it can probably be beaten. The bigger question is whether Mr Mandela will be able to stop the torrent of mass action, strikes, protests, stay-aways and sit-ins to which his own supporters are now habituated.

Mandela pledges safety for whites to prevent exodus

FROM SAM KILEY
IN DURBAN
AND RAY KENNEDY
IN JOHANNESBURG

NELSON Mandela closed his election campaign in Durban yesterday with an impassioned appeal to frightened whites to stay in South Africa and have no fear of black rule. Addressing 150,000 people at Durban's King's Park stadium, the African National Congress leader attacked South Africa's security forces for failing to end political intimidation in KwaZulu-Natal. On Saturday, three ANC campaigners were killed in Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital, by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, went to the ANC stronghold of ower township outside Johannesburg yesterday and urged his supporters to stop violence, lay down their arms and support free and fair elections. Speaking at his own final rally in a stadium, Chief Buthelezi appealed for calm after a bomb, probably planted by right-wing whites, killed at least nine people and wounded dozens in Johannesburg earlier in the day. "I call for a true multi-party, multi-racial endeavour finally to put violence behind us and develop national unity," he told 1,000 supporters, many waving spears and other traditional Zulu weapons. He said the bomb had come for Inkatha to move to the country and the international community it was a powerful force. The Zulu leader, commenting on the Johannesburg killings, said he had urged his youth wing to stay at the ANC campaign freely in Ulundi. Before the rally, one man was shot in the stomach, apparently by accident, when enthusiastic Inkatha supporters fired in the air.

White South Africans have been gripped by a creeping fear of the future as political violence appears to spiral. Travel agents reported solid bookings out of the country for this month; and the immigration department said that January and February saw the first net outflow of white people from South Africa in years.

Mr Mandela, in the final

On the day that at least nine people were killed by a bomb in Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi made final pleas for peaceful and fair elections

phase of his campaign, said: "There are prophets of doom who say that, after the results of the elections are announced on the 29th, blacks all over the country are going to run wild and take white property from them. That is not true."

"We have plans to make sure that will not happen. Nothing hurts me more than to see people leaving the country and taking their skills and education away to serve another nation. I appeal to whites, in particular, to have no fear of the future, because the ANC recognises the vital role they will play in rebuilding the country." Fears of an

Durban: Nelson Mandela will cast his vote at a secret venue in KwaZulu-Natal. Nkomo's Zuma, the ANC Women's League official who made the announcement, refused to disclose the venue. Mr Mandela said he felt "elated" to be voting for the first time in his life. "But I also feel sad that some of the men and women who made this day possible are not here to see it happen," he added. (AFP)

assassination attempt on Mr Mandela rose last night after the car bomb attack in central Johannesburg. Men and women were separated into two columns and individually searched as they entered the sports ground for the Mandela rally.

But there was no visible extra security personnel. Mr Mandela's bodyguards, notoriously slack and often caught sleeping on duty, were unable to prevent people sneaking under the stage the ANC president spoke from. Mr Mandela has recently gone out of his way to reassure South Africa's five million whites that their businesses and land will be safe from nationalisation under an ANC government, which this week's first non-racial elec-

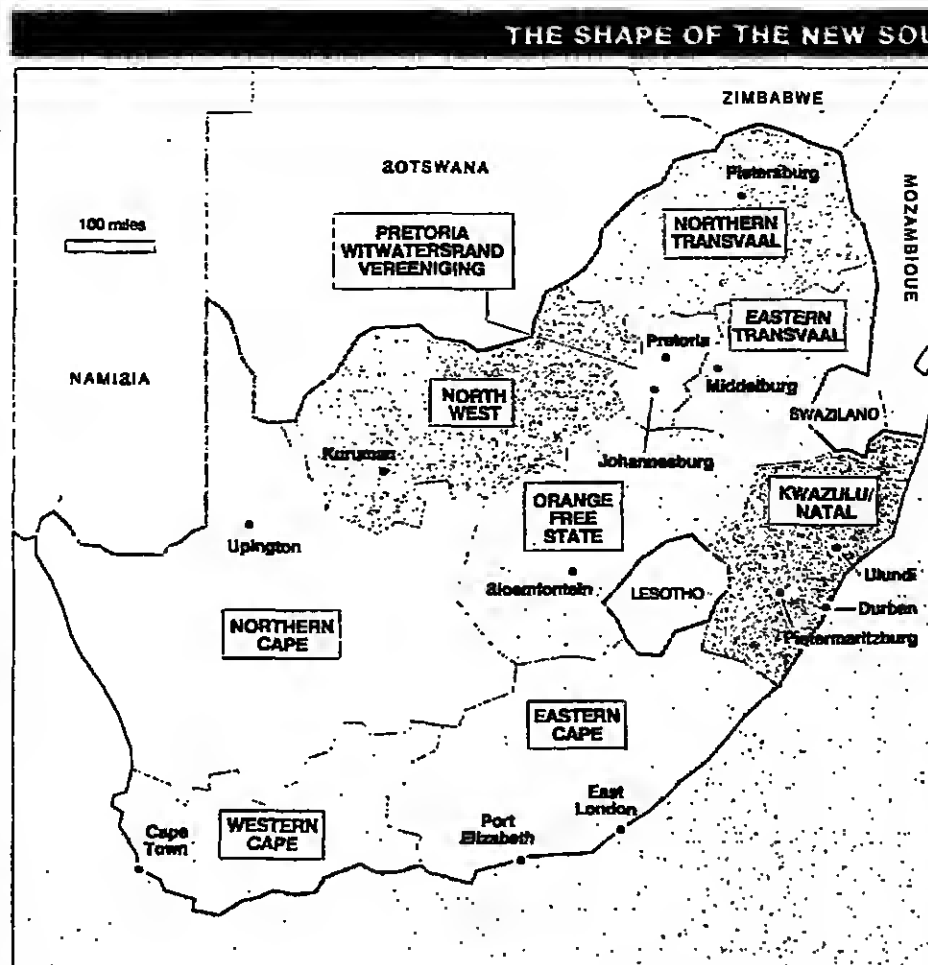
tions are expected to produce. He said that a democratic South Africa faced a secure economic future, in particular because the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank had assured him the country would benefit from a substantial aid package.

In an upbeat and optimistic mood by the end of his last campaign speech, Mr Mandela, 75, began with a savage attack on the security forces in KwaZulu-Natal. He repeated his demand that the territory's police be disbanded or confined to barracks during the elections. He said that the South African Defence Force was "running around in the socks" rather than raiding Inkatha training camps and closing them down.

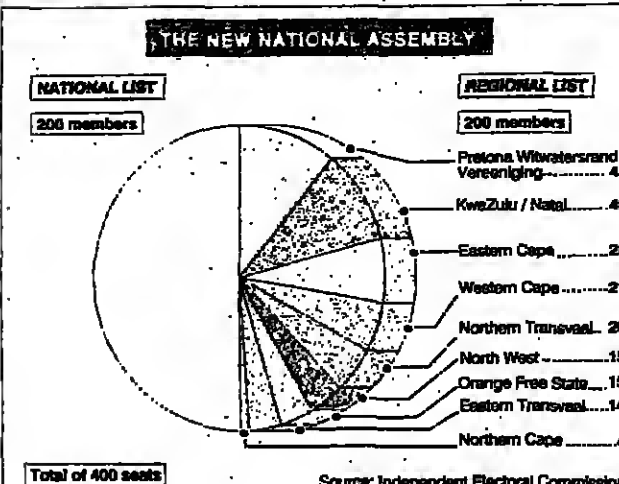
Violence in the province has fallen markedly since Inkatha announced it was entering the elections last week. But fears of violent clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters during the polls are uppermost in voters' minds. Mr Mandela also repeated an earlier signal that he would be hard on any organisation, notably right-wingers or Inkatha, which violently challenged the outcome of the elections.

Hitting a tougher tone than his normally jovial public speaking voice, he said that anyone interfering in the democratic process would face "the full force of the law" under an ANC government. "They must pay for their crimes, and they are going to pay." About 15,000 people have been killed in South Africa, mainly in clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters, since President de Klerk began dismantling apartheid in 1990. More than 260 people have died in the Zulu heartland of KwaZulu-Natal since the government imposed a state of emergency there on March 31.

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THE SHAPE OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA



Seventy-two per cent of the 21.6 million voters eligible to take part in this week's South African elections are blacks voting for the first time. Thirty-one political parties are participating in the poll, 19 for the National Assembly. There will be 25,500 election monitors, 50,000 local and 5,000 international observers. Eighty British and Dutch policemen will advise on polling the elections. There will be ten police officers at every polling station. Voting is tomorrow, Wednesday and Thursday. The National Assembly will have 400 members. If candidates are elected to both the National Assembly and the provincial parliament, their party will tell the Independent Electoral Commission whether they wish to sit in their province or the assembly. If they choose the national body, their names will be removed from the party's provincial list. The party member who was runner-up will take their place in the provincial parliament. The new president will be elected when the National Assembly convenes in Cape Town on May 6.

Police Minister bows out after shredding the files

FROM RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

HERNUS Kriel, the Law and Order Minister whose department runs the police in South Africa, has been shredding his files as he prepares to leave office.

Today he will be in parliament in Cape Town when it reassembles for the last time. On Wednesday, when the polls open, he will be standing as a candidate for the premiership of the Western Cape regional legislature. His ministry will disappear under the government of national unity, and the South African police, the name the force has been known by throughout its 80-year history, will be called the National Police Service and run by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Mr Kriel has admitted that a large number of official documents have been destroyed, but insists that they were not secret files but party political and personal papers "such as responses to invitations". However, sources at the ministry claimed yesterday that papers revealing that it was departmental policy to ensure the police acted in

favour of the National Party rather than the African National Congress were earmarked for the shredder.

Files relating to secret operations, which have been the subject of investigations by the Goldstone commission of enquiry into political violence, were destroyed some time ago, the sources claimed.

The nature of the job has meant that ministers in charge of the police have been controversial figures throughout the National Party's 45-year rule. Mr Kriel has been no exception. John Vorster, the late President and Prime Minister, was the most contentious. As Hendrik Verwoerd's Minister of Police, he introduced detention without trial. At first it was limited to 90 days, although it could be, and frequently was, extended by a nod from a magistrate, and when this procedure was perceived as cumbersome, indefinite detention without trial was introduced.

Apartheid's policemen left bed sheets and peered through chinks in curtains to secure

convictions under the Immorality Act which barred sexual relations and marriage between people of different colours. Hundreds of detained people were found dead in police cells. In parliament, successive ministers defended the police. James Kruger, who was simultaneously Minister of Justice and Police and Prisons, said of the death of Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, in the hands of the security police in



Kriel: bore the brunt of ANC's attacks

1977: "It leaves me cold." Under F.W. de Klerk, the Ministry of Law and Order, and the prisons department became "correctional services". His minister, Louis le Grange, was replaced by Adriaan Vlok when F.W. de Klerk came to power.

Mr Vlok was seen as an ally of Mr de Klerk who had been active in the manoeuvres to remove Mr Botha and was extremely popular with the police. He left office and politics unexpectedly last year, citing ill health, and was replaced by Mr Kriel, 52.

Mr Kriel has borne the brunt of the African National Congress's frequent criticisms of police bias — although 70 per cent of its manpower is black — particularly after police raids last year on the Pan Africanist Congress when he was summoned to appear before the multi-party constitutional negotiating council. Throughout the negotiations the ANC regarded him as a government hawk among those who were trying to put a brake on reform.

Coloureds lend ear to de Klerk's siren song

FROM STEPHEN TAYLOR
IN CAPE TOWN

FOR the mixed race group known as Coloureds, there is a paradox about the election campaign, entering its final phase. Long shunned by Afrikaner leaders as a guilty legacy of miscegenation, Coloured voters in the Cape are now being wooed by President de Klerk's Nationalist Party with a fervour bordering on desperation.

The reason for this courtship is simple. Only in the Cape do the Nationalists have a real chance of winning control of the regional assembly, and the deciding factor will be the ballot of Coloureds. Faced with the alternative of the ANC, there is a chance that Coloured voters will return to power here the same party which disenfranchised them in 1956 and later bulldozed their homes in the racially-bombastic Cape Town suburb called District Six.

Elisapie Platjies might be thought a classic victim of apartheid. At 52, she is old enough to remember a time before the Nationalists came to power, when the western Cape was a rare oasis of racial tolerance. In the 1950s her family was forced out of its home in Paarl, amid lovely vine country. A decade later, she lived in District Six when the bulldozers moved in. Finally, her son died in police custody, in suspicious circumstances.

Yet now Mrs Platjies admits that on Wednesday she will be voting for the Nationalists. "We need a government with experience. These ANCs don't know — they have never run anything."

Mitchells Plain, where Mrs Platjies lives, seems to outsiders a drab, joyless place. Crime is higher here than anywhere else in the Cape and the streets are ruled by gangs of youths that run the trade in amphetamine tablets. Whatever the problems of Mitchells Plain, they seem to its residents preferable to the life of those five miles away across the flats at Kayetisha. There tens of thousands of blacks — migrants from the failed economies of the Transkei and Ciskei homelands — live within wooden frames covered by plastic sheets. The spectre of that alternative may ensure the return of Nationalists in the western Cape.

Resurgent ANC heroine promises downtrodden the Earth

FROM INIGO GILMORE
IN WOLMARANSSTADT



Winnie Mandela: promised ANC will build a million homes and provide free education

As the dust-covered motorcade swept into the township, presidential style, women, men and children waving African National Congress flags lined the streets singing and dancing in unison. Winnie Mandela emerged from a maroon Mercedes dressed in the gold, green and black colours of the ANC.

To deafening cheers she saluted the crowd with a clenched fist, vowing that the ANC "comrades" would sweep away the "scum" who oppose them. Winnie was on the campaign trail, two days before an election which could give her a taste of real power in a government founded by her more tolerant estranged husband, Nelson Mandela.

There could hardly have been a starker contrast with Mrs Mandela's disgrace three years ago. She was convicted of kidnapping and of being an accessory to assault following acts of murder and brutality by her bodyguard, the so-called "Mandela United Football Club". She resigned as head of the ANC social welfare department amid charges of having misspent \$150,000 (£105,000). Yet by last December her fortunes had revived, and she was elected president of

Winnie Mandela, hailed by many as the people's heroine, has her own following that soon could bring her real power in a government presided over by her estranged husband. Inigo Gilmore writes

the ANC's Women's League. After this week's general election, she will almost certainly have a seat in the new parliament and possibly a post in the new Cabinet.

Her rehabilitation began last June, when an appeals court judge commuted her six-year prison sentence for the 1991 kidnapping conviction to a fine. That came just after the assassination of Chris Hani, the Communist Party general secretary, created a leadership vacuum in the ANC's radical wing. Although she herself lives in some style, Mrs Mandela played the part of radical leader to perfection, staying in Soweto while her husband and other ANC leaders eschewed the black townships for the comfort of Johannesburg's white suburbs. Yesterday, during a tour of the western Transvaal, she was greeted as a heroine.

Addressing a crowd of about 5,000 ANC supporters in Wolmaransstad, she launched withering attacks on the ANC's principal opponents. She called

President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, "scum" who would be "flushed away" after the ANC took power this week. To huge cheers she accused the Inkatha leader of being responsible for 18,000 deaths in South Africa after he organised gangs to attack ANC supporters with guns paid for by President de Klerk.

She poured scorn on Mr de Klerk and his National Party. "In the morning he is castigating the ANC and in the evening he is coming to us for a post-election coalition," she said. "I say to him we are not interested. The comrades are untrustworthy. The comrades can forgive but never forget."

She outlined a list of promises: the ANC would build one million houses, provide free health care in a national health service and ensure ten years of free and compulsory education. "If any of the promises I have made

are not recognised, please come and fetch me from parliament," she added. "I will lead you against my own government."

Throughout the day Mrs Mandela was mobbed by enthusiastic crowds. In Makwassie, a small agricultural town, she stopped to talk to a group of children who had been attacked and beaten by members of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). She claimed Eugene Terre-Blanche, the AWB leader, had warned her not to stay in the area overnight for her own safety.

"That fool Terre-Blanche thinks he can turn this area into a volksstaat [white homeland]," she said, adding to whoops of delight: "Well, I can tell you as I stand here in his so-called white area that Christmas is over for Mr Terre-Blanche. After this week's elections his days are finished."

However, she later cancelled a rally, claiming that armed people had infiltrated the crowd and that AWB members were beating up supporters on their way to the rally.

Jahoneale Afrika Seleke, 29, a local ANC member, explained Mrs Mandela's appeal. "The people like the way she talks to them so directly," he said. "While other ANC leaders' wives went into exile, she stayed here to fight for the people."

Helicopters start to fly out Gorazde wounded

FROM JOEL BRAND IN SARAJEVO
AND TIM JUDAH IN BELGRADE

THE first people to escape Gorazde, some of the nearly 2,000 wounded in the three-week Serb offensive that ended when the Nato ultimatum expired, were flown to Sarajevo yesterday for medical care. British and French helicopters were to ferry more than 100 wounded from the devastated town yesterday. The first sortie of three British Sea Kings arrived at Sarajevo's shell-damaged Kosovo Stadium in the late afternoon. Twenty-two of the most urgent cases, including children, were taken off by UN

Vuk Draskovic, leader of Serbia's largest opposition party, was booed, jeered, interrupted and eventually forced to leave when he accused Serbian intellectuals at a Belgrade congress of being warmongers (Dessa Trevisan writes). "This is not a gathering of writers but of a spiritual scum, because you have laid foundations for a disaster with your phoney patriotism," he said.

medical workers. UN medical teams and Sarajevo ambulances waited to whisk the wounded to the city's hospitals.

Relief agency doctors and UN medics in the city want to evacuate up to 600 wounded from the town in the next days. "There is no hope for them if they stay in Gorazde," Peter Kessler, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the agency organising the evacuation, said.

In Gorazde, long after Nato's air strike ultimatum expired yesterday morning, some Serb troops were still inside the exclusion zone around the town, continuing

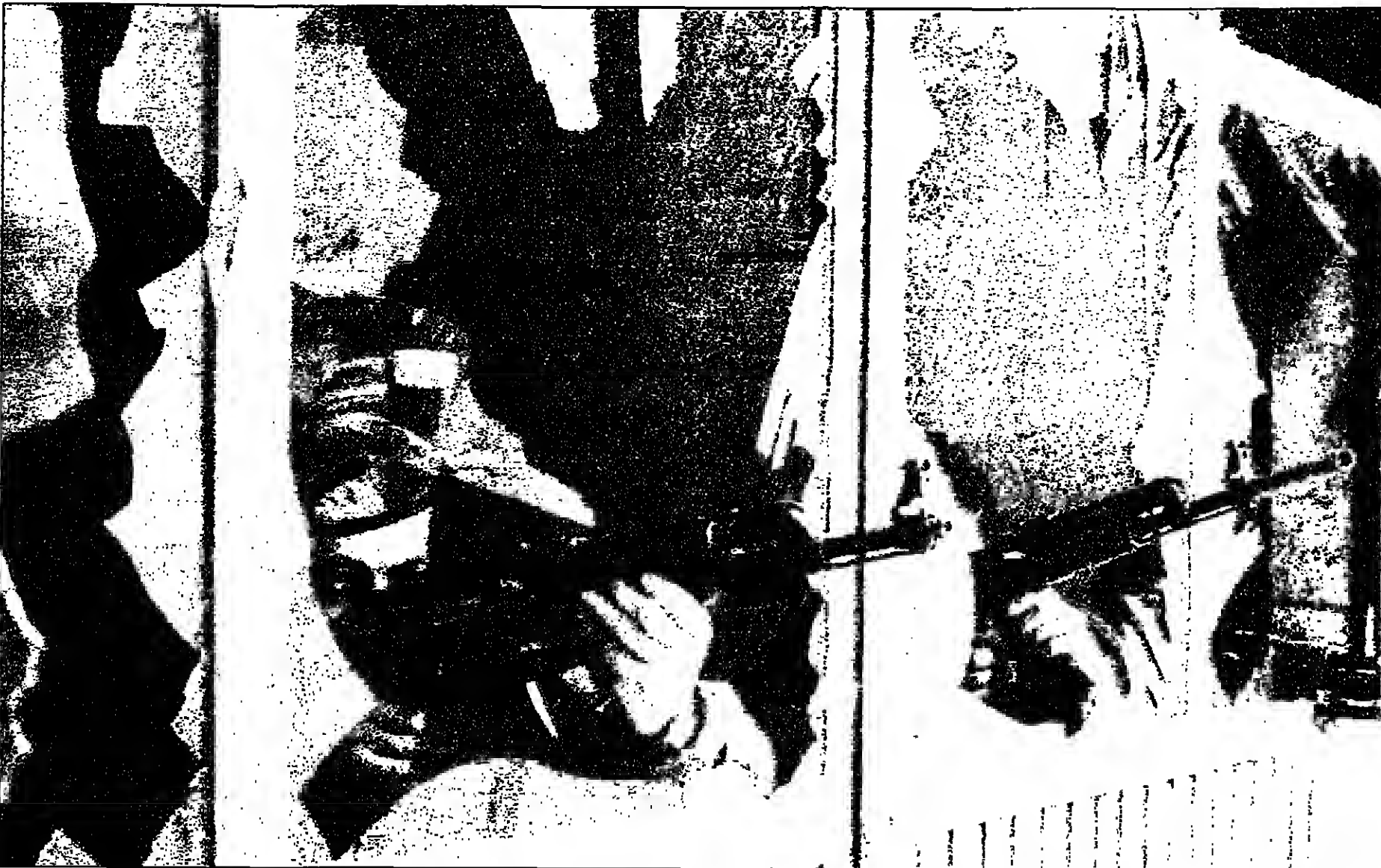
their withdrawal and sporadically firing into the streets. United Nations officials decided that the violation of the ultimatum and of several bilateral agreements still did not warrant the renewed use of Nato warplanes.

A senior UN political officer had gone to the area to negotiate with the Serbs. The UN also said Serb troops and equipment were still in the zone, but were withdrawing. Nato warplanes overflew the area throughout the day.

About 150 Ukrainian peace-keeping troops were taking up positions behind the retreating Serb forces as 41 Norwegian medical staff tended the wounded. A convoy of 100 British troops, with Egyptians and Russians, were on their way to the town from Sarajevo by the afternoon. A company of 150 French troops were also ordered to Gorazde by the UN commander in Bosnia, but the French government countermanded the order. Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, UN commander in Bosnia, hopes eventually to deploy up to 800 soldiers into what is left of the UN-designated "safe area".

The retreating Serb forces began to set on fire surrounding villages and to destroy other installations. Radio Bosnia said that the Serbs had blown up part of the local ammunition factory that they had captured and a reservoir and had also set fire to the suburb of Kokino Selo.

A group of journalists was supposed to be taken into Gorazde on board the UN aircraft yesterday to observe the ceasefire and withdrawal and to speak to residents. However, the UN agreed with the Serbs that the international organisation would not help the journalists to get there.



Bosnian Serb soldiers keeping well under cover as they tried to search out snipers of the mainly Muslim defending force in the Gorazde suburbs yesterday

UN-Nato link brought near to breaking point

BY MICHAEL EVANS
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT
AND JAMES BONE
IN NEW YORK

■ It was only the slow withdrawal of Serb forces from Gorazde that prevented Saturday's mix-up between the United Nations and Nato from degenerating into an all-out row

NATO's resolve to punish the Serbs for violating its ultimatum to stop shelling Gorazde immediately or face air strikes was undermined so much over the weekend that there were fears that relations between the United Nations and the alliance might be damaged irreparably.

It was only the slow withdrawal of Serb forces from Gorazde yesterday and the unobstructed arrival of UN troops in the city that prevented Saturday's débâcle between the two organisations from degenerating into an all-out row.

Although there were attempts to play down the dismay felt after the refusal by Yasushi Akashi, the UN special representative, to authorise

Nato bombing, when the Serbs continued to batter Gorazde beyond the ceasefire deadline, there was no hiding the fact that Nato felt betrayed.

When Manfred Wörner, Nato Secretary-General, telephoned Boutros Boutros Ghali, his counterpart at the UN, on Friday to tell him the alliance had decided to issue the ultimatum and to threaten extensive air strikes, he received an assurance that there was the political will to go ahead with bombing if the Serbs failed to meet the deadline. Nato

sources said the rejection of air strikes by Mr Akashi on Saturday, although the Serbs were hitting Gorazde at the rate of one shell a minute, caused astonishment, especially as Dr Boutros Ghali had written to Dr Wörner earlier in the week asking Nato to authorise air strikes after he had received a telephoned appeal from Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, the UN commander in Bosnia. According to alliance sources, the first difficulty arose when Nato decided that air strikes were imperative on Saturday

but failed to contact Mr Akashi until the afternoon. Dr Boutros Ghali was flying to Barbados to open a UN conference on small island states. US officials who tried to reach him when the dispute between Nato and Mr Akashi broke out were told he was out of touch.

Dr Wörner then rang Mr Akashi and in a "very frank" conversation made clear that he felt the continuing Serb shelling, especially on the hospital in Gorazde, justified air strikes immediately. Nato sources, however, said the request for air strikes had reached Mr Akashi just as he was on the point of negotiating what he saw as an important ceasefire agreement and did not want to jeopardise the deal by calling in Nato bombers.

The request for bombing had come from Admiral Leighton Smith, the American commander-

in-chief of Nato's southern force headquarters in Naples. That was in line with the new "dual-key" arrangement agreed by Nato's North Atlantic Council in Brussels on Friday, under which Nato commanders were given the right to seek air strikes, as well as General Rose in Sarajevo. UN authorisation, through Mr Akashi, was still required in each case.

Shortly before the Nato deadline for the Serbs to move out of Gorazde, and after the anguished telephone calls, UN headquarters in New York issued a statement promising that "should the required ceasefire and withdrawal fail to take place... the Secretary-General will immediately authorise the use of air strikes." By then, however, a convoy of UN peacekeepers had entered Gorazde and the Serbs were showing signs of pulling back.

China frees dissident to woo Washington

FROM JONATHAN MIRSKY IN HONG KONG

WANG Juntao, one of China's two most famous political prisoners, imprisoned in 1991 as the mastermind behind the Tiananmen protests, flew into New York last night after his release on bail to receive medical treatment.

At his trial, where with his colleague, Chen Ziming, he received a 13-year sentence for being one of "the black hands" behind the 1989 upheaval in Peking, Mr Wang said: "The dead are unable to defend themselves. A defence should not be limited to saying 'I do not oppose leaders', but should allow for the legitimate right to oppose leaders."

Not since the release last September of Wei Jingsheng, the dissident, a few months before the end of his 15-year sentence, to gain the favour of the International Olympic Committee, has there been such a naked play by Peking to secure a political goal. In this case it is President Clinton's renewal of China's "most favoured nation" trading status. "China has played its ace," said a diplomat in Peking. "It will be difficult for its critics in Congress to top this."

Mr Wang, 35, has hepatitis and heart disease, and his wife, Hou Xiaofan, has been lobbying for his release in America for months. Washington has been manoeuvring for Mr Wang to receive medical treatment in America in

the belief that this would make Peking look humane and reasonable and permit Mr Clinton to grant it trading status for another year.

Throughout the spring, America has been reducing the conditions China needed to meet to secure Mr Clinton's signature, while Peking was detaining, releasing and arresting more than 20 political protesters. But although 1993 was the biggest year for political arrests since 1989, both the White House and the State

Department have insisted that the requirements for securing MFN were "very narrow". Mr Clinton has already confided to close associates that he intends to renew MFN and that the problem is "pack-



Kinkel intervened to get Wang released

aging". Mr Wang's release is part of the package. Next month's meeting between Mr Clinton and the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet, will be the final touch. It will permit the President to say that he understands the plight of the Tibetans and that he expects China, as one of his narrow qualifications, to respect their culture.

There are fears here that Mr Wang will be forbidden to return. This was the fate last year of Han Dongfang, the Chinese trade union activist, who had also been released from prison, to which he had been sentenced after medical treatment in Boston.

Mr Wang, like Han Dongfang, is part of a new breed of Chinese dissidents far more frightening to the regime than students. The son of the dean of an army defence college, he was arrested in April 1976 for leading the first great Tiananmen demonstration, which attacked the Gang of Four and called for the return from political exile of Deng Xiaoping.

Germany hailed Mr Wang's release. Klaus Kinkel, the Foreign Minister, last night invited Mr Wang to visit Bonn along with his wife. He said recalled he had "intervened and for a long time" to get him out of prison.

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In the finest tribute to his legacy, the anti-Communist authorities in Moscow and across Russia re-instituted the hated tradition of the subbotnik, the voluntary weekend work, once a pillar of Soviet ideology.

Set by the destructive effects of a harsh winter and unable to cope with the huge spring clean-up operation, thousands of "volunteer" students, pensioners and soldiers were drafted

into work gangs by the authorities. The subbotnik, started with Lenin's encouragement by Communist zealots in 1919, became a tradition for all Soviet workers, who were expected to contribute their efforts for the good of the state, while most party leaders spent the weekend at their dachas in the country.

"I am out here cleaning the street, because if I don't do it no one will," said Sergei Ignatov, a reluctant "volunteer", clearing out some garages near his home. "The Communists asked us to do it. Now the democrats are asking us. They are all the same. It is an old story. Their mentality has not changed."

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Jews enraged after Mitterrand tries to close book on past

FROM JOHN FOLLAIN IN PARIS

JEWISH leaders criticised President Mitterrand yesterday for saying, in a dispute that has clouded ceremonies commemorating the deportation of Jewish children to concentration camps, that it was too late to try Nazi war criminals.

The opening yesterday by Mitterrand of a museum in Lizeux, near Lyons in south-east France, was a solemn tribute to 44 children, none of whom returned from the camps. "These children are the symbol of the Jews exterminated by the Vichy regime. They are also the symbol of a crime against humanity," the President said. "Justice which has been meted out, or which has yet to be meted out, does not exempt us from the daily struggle against the roots of an ill which threatens our societies."

However, comments by Mitterrand in a new book have reopened old wounds, reawakening bitter divisions over how France should come to terms with some aspects of its wartime past that many would rather forget.

In the book, published during the trial of Paul Touvier, 79, the French former member of the collaborationist milice, who last week was convicted of crimes against humanity for ordering the killing of seven Jews, the President said

that there was little point in prosecuting old men so long after the events.

"There are very few witnesses left and it hardly makes any sense. We cannot live for ever on memories and bitterness," Mitterrand, a former Resistance fighter, was quoted as saying in an interview given three years earlier. He emphasised the need for national unity.

The comments angered civil plaintiffs at the trial, who said they might play into Touvier's hands. They also angered Marc Aron, honorary president of the Council of Jewish Institutions in the Rhône-Alpes region.

M Aron believes that the French authorities are anxious not to try Nazi war criminals because that would fuel demands for the trials of some officers who fought in more recent conflicts, such as the Algerian war of independence.

"The only question which worries us is: Is France taking its past on board? Are we putting Jewish history between brackets — we say it was sad and we stage a day of commemoration?" he asked. (Reuters)

Strasbourg: Twenty-six headstones at a Jewish cemetery in the village of at Struth, near here, have been knocked over or broken up, officials said yesterday.

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Last of the loyal turn out to salute Lenin's birthday

FROM RICHARD BEESTON
IN MOSCOW

VLADIMIR Ilich Lenin could not have wished for a better birthday present. After successive years of abuse and disrespect from his fellow Russians, this weekend the father of the Soviet Union could celebrate his 124th birthday in the style to which he had been accustomed.

In Red Square, where for decades Soviet citizens had queued to glimpse his embalmed body beneath the granite mausoleum, thousands of the party faithful reappeared in a respectful line with the banners, badges and paraphernalia of a lost empire. "I

love Lenin more than life. There is no other person dearer to me," said Galina Cherkasova, a pensioner who carried a home-made placard with an old Soviet slogan: "Lenin lived, Lenin lives, Lenin will live".

True to form, Pravda, the once mighty organ of the Soviet Communist Party, marked the occasion with an editorial straight from the language of the Cold War. Lenin's detractors were dismissed as "flimsy and rotten", while his loyalists were urged to prepare their counter-attack.

"Lenin must be defended," said the paper. "Defending Lenin does not mean attacking his abusers, it means revealing the source of the lies,

slanders, frauds and swindles. Yes, my friends, when we defend Lenin we defend the entire society from total degradation." Even Moscow's policemen rose to the occasion when they arrested four anti-Lenin demonstrators.

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Lenin: Pravda tribute

When wives take husbands to court and friends sue one another for damages, we need to consider if insurance is the best policy

Sinking their clause into love

As of last Friday, scientists admit — rather to the glee of *Star Trek* fans, who knew all along — that we are probably not alone in the universe. There are other planets after all, whizzing round other stars, so there could be intelligent life. The theory has even been mooted that the aliens know perfectly well we are here but haven't bothered to get in touch.

On the same day, I began to see why. To an intelligent alien with (one must assume) little experience of Earthling personal finance, we must seem a dreadfully unprincipled bunch. In the High Court, another of those strikingly terrible cases is being heard in which a married couple are forced to enter a public arena and allege awful things about one another in the pursuit of an insurance claim. These cases crop up periodically, and horribly dramatise a far wider social effect: the atrocious, dehumanising influence of insurance on human relationships.

The court heard how Mrs Jean Ginder asked her husband to fix a latch to an upstairs window. He didn't get round to it. Their two-year-old got out through the window onto the carport roof and began dancing. She went after him, fell through, and is now paralysed from the waist down. The child was unhurt. The Ginders still live together, and he pushed her wheelchair into court. But she alleges that he neglected to fix the window, that she couldn't get a man in to do it herself — lest she "undermine" him and he "bark" at her and cause "misery" in the family. In turn, his lawyers say that she was "100 per cent responsible" for her accident, should not have gone on the roof, and failed to supervise their child properly.

Dear God, who does not shudder to read such things? Of course, it is only about money: a policy under which the family, now hampered and no doubt impoverished by major disability, want to claim. It only pays out if he, the insured, is proved at fault. But don't the details chill you to the bone? Haven't we all had narrow escapes? Is there not, in every family, a secret shameful history of unbolts, stair-gates and smoke-alarm batteries unreplaced for weeks; of knives left out, spills unwiped on slippery vinyl floors, a dozen mildly dangerous situations left unremedied because someone is too stressed, right now, to be



LIBBY PURVES

nagged? We all plead guilty to lapses which could have hurt someone, and mercifully didn't. We have all made wrong decisions made for the right reasons, like creeping onto a plastic roof after a two-year-old. But if we want to stay married, we forgive. And forget. And steadfastly maintain that it could have happened to anyone. For better or worse, we button our lip and never, ever say to the bereaved, the wounded, or the sole remaining breadwinner: "It was your fault. I blame you." What price a system where, in open court, a still-married couple have to say these things?

But insurance always does this to the quality of human relations. The trouble comes when we cease seeing others as individuals to be cared for, and regard everyone as merely a front-man for some bottomless well of corporate wealth. When two cars bump one another, their drivers may no longer obey their instinct and say "Sorry". Even if one vehicle was standing still, nobody must admit liability. Some American lawyers even advise clients against apologising when they bump into another pedestrian, lest this blatant admission of guilt should lead to a suit against their insurers for a traumatic stubbed toe.

Some companies refuse to let employees bring a child onto office premises briefly in an emergency, because "the insurance doesn't cover it". Cautious boat owners refuse one another the loan of a vital rope, lest it break someone's leg and the insurers quibble over a claim because it wasn't in their personal use. Homeowners are warned that their policy may not cover children's parties, and that if a visiting toddler runs into a table before they get the first-aid box down — that the responsibility lies entirely with the child's legal guardians.

You think I exaggerate? A few years back, a couple invited themselves and their children to stay with acquaintances. On the first day, their wilder child ran through a plate-glass window. The hosts got medical attention, looked after the hysterical parents, and saw their guests off on amicable terms, with no permanent damage done. A week or so later came a lawyer's letter. It said their guests were demanding substantial compensation for pain, distress, injury, and loss of mother's earnings due to her trauma. They alleged negligence because the patio door was not marked "Danger". Then the guests themselves rang up, cheerily, "It's nothing personal," they said, "it's come off your insurance. Might as well, we thought." I told this story to a lawyer, who was scandalised for the wrong reason. "Fools," he said. "They should have got their own claim in first."

Insurance policies, in theory, are a grand idea. After the 1987 hurricane we were glad of ours. But I am not at all sure that those who draft, sell, and administer the who draft, sell, and administer the thought about the effect they have on human relationships. The aliens do well to steer clear of us until we have sorted this one out.

Rock
lam
back

Ultimate dress sense

Julia Llewellyn Smith investigates the secrets of style's Top Ten

What do the Duchess of Kent, Benazir Bhutto and K.d. lang have in common? One is a much-revered royal, one an international politician, the third a crop-haired lesbian country-western singer. Yet, according to this month's *Vogue*, they are three of the ten best-dressed women in the world.

They are, however, the exceptions in a Top Ten which shows some other startling similarities. Their fellow best-dressed are (in strictly alphabetical order) Carla Bruni (supermodel), Inés de la Fressange (model and socialite), C.Z. Guest (socialite and occasional model), Anjelica Huston (actress), Lauren Hutton (model), Joanna Lumley (actress, former model) and Victoria de Rothschild. When I ask *Vogue* who Victoria de Rothschild is, someone says: "I don't know what she actually does, if anything. I have a funny feeling she just is." She is, in fact, the wife of the banker Sir Evelyn de Rothschild.

The secret of dressing well, then, is simple. Be stunningly beautiful, or, if you cannot manage this, extremely rich. All the women in the Top Ten are both.

Alexandra Shulman, of *Vogue*, says the women have been picked for broader reasons. "There are so many ways to be well dressed. These women have very different styles. All they share is the fact that they are best-dressed for the life they lead, so that they don't look foolish but look confident. They have a very definite style and they have all got an elegance about them without being boring."



Vote-winner Benazir Bhutto

Still, *Vogue* cannot deny that money talks. "Being well dressed is increasingly a question of style and self-knowledge," it writes. "Unfortunately, putting that style and self-knowledge into action doesn't come cheap. Despite our attempts at a broad selection, most of the women on this list have plenty of money — or time and/or inside information — to shop for the best."

So what hope is there for we plainer, poorer mortals? Miss Shulman says: "Obviously, if you compare an ordinary someone with the great international dressers, she is not going to stand much of a chance of getting onto the best-dressed list."

So what can the list teach us, apart from that life is unfair? Well, being well dressed does not mean copying the fashion pages of *Vogue*, which this month are full of wafers in PVC T-shirts and lame minis. In the photos accompanying the well-dressed list, such items are conspicuously absent.

High fashion, apparently, can be ignored. Yet nearly all the best-dressed seem to adhere to a code as rigid as a convent school's uniform list. Out of 47 photographs, 29 show women dressed completely, or nearly so, in black. The rest are mostly in browns and greys.

Miss Shulman is grudging about this. "How can you tell?" she says. "Some of the pictures are in black and white." We compromise, agreeing a lot of the women favour dark, plain colours. "It's safer and easier to wear dark clothes," she says. "That's the simplest way not to make mistakes."



Chart-topper K.d. lang

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A last word from Leo

Leo Abse believes that his new book, in which he analyses Germany's tortured soul, has used up his last reserves of aggression. Margot Norman reports



Leo Abse: "Only after the Germans have suffered an unholy baptism will they be able to gain their full humanity"

the past. Teutonic myths and all, and "have the courage to plunge into Wotan's cesspit. They must swim in the pool in which their fathers were wont to revel, amongst the detritus of racist and Lebensraum doctrines; and only after they have suffered this unholy baptism will they be able to gain their full humanity and will Germany cease in its present restless and dangerous confused search for an identity."

The Goethe Institute considered having Abse lecture there

but, having glimpsed the book, hastily retreated on the ground that wallowing was not the approved technique for bolstering mutual understanding. Abse vehemently disagrees, insists on the Freudian doctrine that anything repressed will out, and points to the D-Day anniversary fiasco: "The Germans and this daft Government were trying to smudge things. The Germans walked out, enraged, and stigmatised Jeannette as a Nazi apologist."

He cites the speech of the

Christian Democrat Speaker, Jeannette, at the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht. An extraordinary model of courage, rhetoric and psychoanalytical precept, this speech talked the listeners through the Hitlerzeit in a way calculated to make them understand, to empathise with their Nazi fathers and then confronted them with the evils those men committed. But the deputies walked out, enraged, and stigmatised Jeannette as a Nazi apologist.

Empathy, as distinct from detached analysis, is the whole point of Abse's book and so it is partly autobiographical. Abse himself is a Welsh Jew born during the First World War, whose grandparents' homes in Poland and Lithuania were rendered Judenfrei in the Second. As a fiery young socialist he immersed himself in German culture, met the Weimar playwright Ernst Toller in a shabby Cardiff hall, fell half in love with the German Geist. Later he fell in

love with a real German, right in the middle of the war when he was serving in the RAF. Greta was a German missionary in Kenya, where Abse's commanding officer had taken his men for rest and recreation. Having been favoured in Nonconformist Wales as one of the "People of the Book" he was appalled by what she told him of the role of the German evangelist church under Hitler, shocked when she showed him Luther's anti-Semitic writings.

His was a family of dreamers, who made money out of magic lantern shows and cinemas and then squandered it on fast cars and fast women so that he, the middle brother, had to go to the free secondary school and work in a factory, studying to become a solicitor through a correspondence course funded by his elder brother. His much younger brother, Dannie, became a respected chest specialist, but achieved fame as a poet. "The Jews have always been interested in dreams, from Joseph to Freud," Dannie wrote in his memoirs. Leo Abse firmly believes, first, that there is no point in writing a book that could have been written by anybody else and, second, that the proper way to deal with a hypothesis is not to deduce it from the available facts but to start with the hypothesis itself and only discard it if you can't find facts to fit it.

An autodidact who is fiercely proud of his two highly academic children, he has produced a book that combines scholarly enquiry with savage personal outbursts (notably against the two historians, Harold James and Norman Stone), illuminating psychoanalytical digressions (on Kurt Hahn, the Duke of Edinburgh and the Prince of Wales, on Ted Heath and Enoch Powell), and a defence of the European Union which will embarrass the socks off the Europhiles. He's right to brace himself for an onslaught.

Wotan, My Enemy: Can Britain live with the Germans in the European Union? by Leo Abse will be published by Robson Books on May 12 (£18.95).

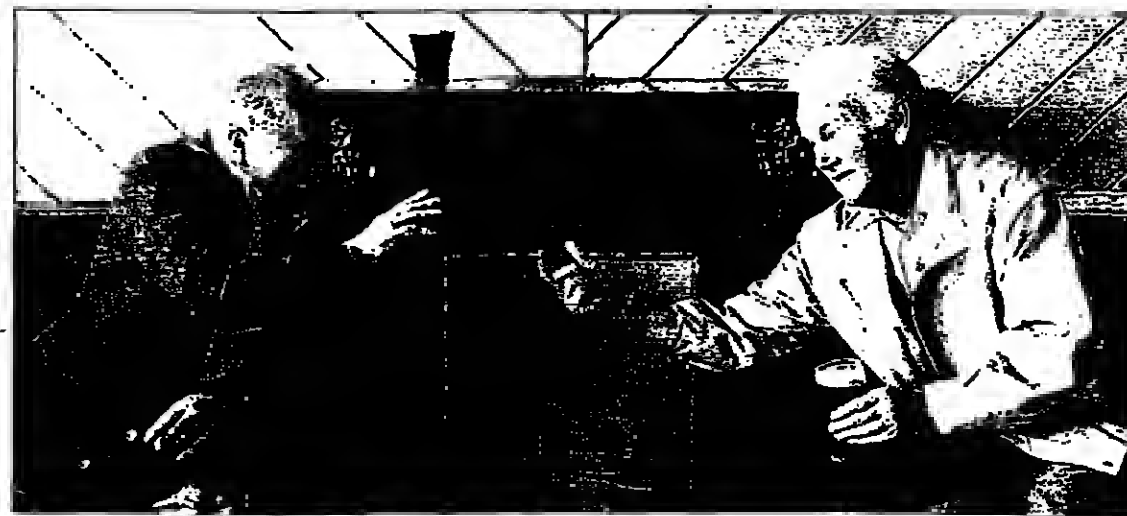
From Brussels to Warsaw, a bogus version of the Irish bar is taking over, says Peter Millar

Pure genius — or ersatz Irish?

There are many vices laid at the door of us Irish. Until now, cultural imperialism was not one of them. But beware a new phenomenon is sweeping continental Europe, spreading splashes of green paint and shamrock symbols from Munich to Moscow with "whack-folme-daddy" belting out of loud-speakers from Warsaw to Stockholm. The "Irish Pub" has become a Eurogenre, instantly recognisable, not just from the paintwork and the sound system, but for the hordes of young, studious locals it attracts bravely paying upfront and over the odds for their half-litre of Guinness and trying hard to like it. Guinness, with Murphy's hard on its heels, has done much to fuel the phenomenon, understandably as the presence of both products is an indispensable part of the package.

Some establishments have more impeccable pedigrees than others: perhaps the most famous is Kitty O'Shea's next to the Council of Ministers' Charlemagne building in Brussels. This has become a sort of surrogate embassy. If you want to beard any Irish minister on just about anything, then Kitty's at midnight is no bad place to start.

The Kitty O'Shea name has spread south to Paris and beyond, certainly well beyond the circle of those who recognise it as belonging to the mistress who ended the career of Charles Stewart Parnell.



The real thing: an authentic Irish bar is likely to be reserved for serious drinking and occasional repartee

In the university quarter of Munich, the Shamrock Irish Pub on a Monday evening, usually the city's quietest night, is heaving with young Germans tapping their feet over-enthusiastically to an over-amplified electric version of *Murphy's Wedding*. Its sister bar, Shenanigans, is running its own talent contest entitled the Rose of Munich in imitation of the Rose of Tralee and offering trips to Ireland for the winner.

Those who get there will be in for a bit of a surprise: for the hard fact is that Irish pubs are not like that. In

fact, few are called pubs at all. That is an English name for an English institution. In Ireland we have bars, an institution in their own right places for serious drinking, if perhaps too often for thin-lipped men on their own raising pints of stout while watching the racing on the omnipresent television above the bar. They can be noisy places too, full of quickfire repartee and genuine wit at loud volume, if only to talk above the noise of the television.

These are the bars familiar not just in Dublin and Belfast but also in the

Irish diaspora, in Kilburn, New York and Boston, bars run by Irishmen for Irishmen, or those who like to consider themselves such. Yes, there can be music, but not often.

In reality, the Irish pub that has taken the Continent by storm is a bit of a con trick: a clever concoction that includes elements of the English pub (darts, beery bonhomie, customers standing around without a seat) and the German *Kneipe* (late opening hours, wooden panelling, taped music).

Recipe: take carefully selected ingredients from two of the most successful social institutions in Europe and add folk music from a relatively exotic and inoffensive small country to replace otherwise unappealing national identities.

For such, I am afraid, is the case: English pubs in the eyes of many mainland Europeans are linked to an image of football hooligans in Union Jack underpants, while a German bar on the site of the Warsaw ghetto is not yet considered a great business idea. But on the edge of Warsaw's old town, not far from the ghetto site and only metres from the plinth which until relatively recently supported a statue of Felix Dzierzynski, founder of the KGB, is a newly opened Irish pub.

On my recent visit it was a convivial spot to spend the evening, full of Warsaw's new young trends drinking German lager and listening to an Armenian band playing old Beatles numbers. The Guinness signs were there, as were the shamrocks and St Patrick's Day bunting almost a month after the event.

Where did the owners come from, I asked the Polish barman. "They are partners," he replied. "Two are from Warsaw, one from Düsseldorf. Oh, and I think one might be Irish."

But then, perhaps we should not criticise a good recipe: better to sit back and take the credit, even if someone else does the cooking.

THE TIMES MONDAY APRIL 25 1994

Dowdy is dead, long live glamour —
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and slinking into the spotlight

Rock glam is back



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Photographs by TIM BRET-DAY. Make-up by Sarah Reygate. Hair by Adam Mell for Antony Yacomine. Stylist: Jane Roary



Annabel Nellist's Homplayers for EHRMAN TAPESTRY

Annabel Nellist is a textile designer who loves to mix fragments of designs to build rich and complex pictures. This technique is perfectly suited to needlework and her Homplayers, inspired by the Bayeux Tapestry, is an imaginative combination of figures, buildings and emblems against a trelliswork structure. The colours are light and fresh: sandy yellows, marine and pale blue, cherry and strawberry red on an ivory background. It makes a most original cushion cover.

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TM5/94

It's official. Glamour is back, and it looks pretty scary. After so many seasons with only played-down fashion on offer, it comes as quite a shock to come face to face once again with models wearing obvious make-up, and overtly flashy clothes.

This new-look glamour (with a capital G), which will no doubt shimmer away through the summer and reach its highly unnatural conclusion just in time for the party season pre-Christmas, is the antithesis of what we are used to seeing.

There is nothing natural about the mood. Top to toe, everything appears thought-out. Everything looks exceedingly clear-cut from the precisely applied blusher (with additional highlighter on the cheekbone to add a distinct edge), to the precision cut of a spike-heeled swanky shoe, the image is razor-sharp.

For once, it is not the designers who are at the root of this reworking. They are taking their lead from the finger-on-the-pulse photographers and stylists who work together to push the perimeter of fashion. One such couple are Lucinda Chambers, the fashion director of Vogue, and the photographer Nick Knight. Chambers and Knight worked together on a fashion story featuring the supermodel Linda Evangelista that appeared in the magazine under the headline "Transition Vamp". It was a glossy Technicolor celebration

of glamour, with Evangelista looking acutely aggressive. Harshly lit by a ringflash, her eyes leapt from the pages — "whiplash eyes", Vogue said.

"I wanted very hard make-up," Chambers says. "We wanted to go as far away from the wail look as possible. Hard make-up, hard ringflash, extremely sophisticated. When we did the Linda story everyone was still doing grunge. I was very tired of it."

Although the story had a 1970s feel, the resulting images were very different from anything else anyone was doing at the time. So different that even Chambers and Knight were uncertain as to the outcome of their venture. "But it worked, and everyone picked up on it," Chambers says. "Things are now looking very glamorous and that's good because I think women like it." The kind of glamour Chambers was pastiche centres around a very specific period. The early to mid-1970s saw fashion and music merge as never before, in a movement known as glam rock. Leading lights David Bowie and Roxy Music gave fashion a new focus. The image stole from the Hollywood movies of the 1930s and 1940s, with added amounts of sci-fi futurism mixed with tough urban reality. Whereas Bowie played the part of a painted prima-donna on his



Fashion
by
IAN R.
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album covers, Roxy Music featured ferocious-looking females styled by the fashion designer Antony Price. The group even went so far as to credit him on their first album, a move seen as a radical departure from the straight and narrow by the music industry.

"Up until then the fashion business thought music was disgusting and sweaty," Price says, "and the music business thought fashion was snooty." Price, who remembers the era as "ridiculously camp", created an image which was to become the inspiration for a whole generation of style aficionados. At its heart were divine-looking creatures: Carl-Anne Muller, Amanda Lear, Jerry Hall — who were painted and posed with chilling exactness. "We took our inspiration from Hollywood," Price says, "and 1950s pin-ups — the pedalpushers, high heels and feather boas."

The make-up artist Sarah Reygate cites Price and Roxy Music as the springboard for the image she created for this page. "I've been doing this kind of make-up for a while, but it was just too early, everyone was horrified by it," she says. "I love it because it's so glossy, and glamorous, and now that fashion is going that way it suddenly looks right."



Shot blue metallic single-breasted jacket, £465, shot blue metallic A-line mini-skirt, £130, powder blue short-sleeved cropped net top, £66; John Rocha, Harrods, Knightsbridge, SW1; Eva, 12 High Street, Ipswich, Suffolk (telephone enquiries 071-734 0123); satin shoes with metal spike heel, £280, Manolo Blahnik, 49 Old Church Street, SW3



A pride of ferocious females in (from left) Vogue, on the cover of Roxy Music's Country Life and gleaming from The Eyes of Laura Mars

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● THE Watch Gallery is giving away free Air Miles with watches costing more than £100. A fine collection including Breitling, Tag Heuer, Jaeger-Le Coultre and countless limited editions is to be found in their London shops at 129, Fulham Road, SW3 and 100, Jermyn Street, SW1.

● TIFFANY was open for breakfast last week to launch a new range of bath products. The Tiffany Spa collection of five beauty treatments contains natural ingredients and has a light floral scent. To demonstrate the range an ingenious shower was installed on

HOTLINE

the shop floor, complete with a very soapy Audrey Hepburn lookalike. The products are priced from £11 to £30 and will be available from June at Tiffany, 25, Old Bond Street and later at selected retailers.

● FOR one day only, the Yves Saint Laurent Rive Gauche shop is holding a grand sale of stock from previous seasons. Bargains galore with prices greatly reduced on both men's and women's wear can be found at 33 Sloane Street, SW1, open from 9am to 6pm.

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Matthew Parris



■ The decline of belief in a deity has had an unfortunate consequence: we have lost the power of cursing

Cambridge or Oxford ought to endow a Chair of Invective. Distinguished academic careers could be devoted to its analysis. I am sure of this, having just completed for a publisher my manuscript for an anthology of Scorn.

Why "scorn" rather than the more obvious "insult"? Because that would have excluded so much splendid use of language to wound or deride. All insult is scorn, but not all scorn is insult: to inveigh against God, opera, the French, women, fate — to inveigh, even, against oneself — may be scorn, but not insult.

I wanted to include Nietzsche's attacks on Christianity, Shaw's assault on Shakespeare, Burke's charge against Warren Hastings, Cassandra on

Liberace and Edward Pearce on the Princess of Wales. Scorn is the generic term for all of them. The language of scorn, though vast, finds itself pursuing one or more of only four purposes: indictment, mockery, pure spite and cursing. Though much scorn employs a skilful blend of two or more of these, each is distinguishable. Take Scott, writing of the South Pole: "Great God! This is an awful place."

That is an indictment. It is a negative description, the use of words to deprecate, to prosecute or defame, useful (if damaging) information is conveyed, but the power lies in the force of the words. The law, politics and journalism are full of indictment.

Now take Noël Coward's remark: "Very flat, Norfolk." This is mockery. Mockery tells us nothing new but repeats a disparagement whose truth is already known. The scorn lies in reminding us. Often this is done by exaggeration, caricature or parody — a reference to someone's silly voice, big nose or illegitimacy. Mockery is an intelligent development from a game — mimicry — that even animals play.

Third, take George V on Bognor Regis: "Bogger Bognor." This is pure spite, an articulate development of the animal snarl. It is the very simplest form of abuse: a verbal thumbing of the nose, an "I hate you" expressed in a new way. Such abuse conveys no fresh fact about its object nor reminds us of any known one. It conveys the scorn alone.

But King George comes close here to the fourth form of scorn: the formal curse. "Bogger Bognor", expressed as it allegedly was (on his deathbed) to the royal doctor, conveyed his late majesty's disinclination to go there. But had he said "Let Bognor be Bugged!" he would have been using the form, though not the substance, of a curse.

It is fascinating to track

It is fascinating to track the decline of the curse in modern times. Nobody casts spells any more. The roots of the word damn are forgotten.

form of even anger, it had to draw on the belief that God or the gods did sometimes smite people as a result of invitations to do so from other people.

Proper cursing therefore served two purposes. It purported to enlist a supernatural power in hurting the victim; and in doing so it comforted the curser and in some measure relieved him of any responsibility for taking further aggressive action himself.

Leo Abse has just drawn my attention to a Judaic curse, to be pronounced at the Passover between the third and fourth cup of wine, with the door to the assembly opened.

"Oh pour out thy wrath upon the heathen who know thee not and upon the kingdoms who invoke not thy name. For they have devoured Jacob and laid waste his beautiful dwelling. Pour out thy indignation upon them and cause thy fierce anger to overtake them. Pursue them in wrath and destroy them from under the heavens of the Lord."

In times of siege and persecution, what comfort that invocation of divine wrath must have given to otherwise helplessly outnumbered small communities. It is often said that, deprived of a God, we are deprived in our loss of a power to bless. But we are deprived too, in our loss of a power to curse.

An alternative Community vision, of a Europe of nations, gained its official standard last week

Last Friday, a group of European parliamentarians and candidates signed a European Declaration of Independence in Paris. For the first time the other Europe, opposed to Maastricht and to the whole concept of a federal European superstate, came together. Nine nations were represented, by parliamentarians ranging from Conservatives through various types of Liberal and Independent, to Social Democrats, to Greens. What we all had in common was a belief in what General de Gaulle called "L'Europe des Patries". That is, as someone has defined it, a united Europe of states rather than a united states of Europe. We reject Maastricht.

The most interesting absentees were the Italians. They could not come because the other Europe has won the recent Italian elections and is now forming its first new European government. Italy was the most federalist of the five large European nations because the Italians had altogether lost confidence in the ability of the old politicians to govern successfully, or even honestly. It was an Italian trap, laid at the Rome summit of 1990, which led to the political assassination of Margaret Thatcher. Now there is no doubt that the new Italian majority, under Silvio Berlusconi, would have rejected the Maastricht treaty, which had been one of the main objects of criticism of Umberto Bossi and the Lombardy League. Italy has moved, in one election, from being the most Euro-federalist to the least Euro-federalist of the large European nations.

The effective convenor of the Paris meeting was Sir James Goldsmith, that intriguing Anglo-French figure who believes passionately in the national independence and identity of both his nations. He is standing for

Birth of a better kind of European union

the European Parliament, heroically facing vistas of tedium in Strasbourg, as the joint leader of L'Autre Europe, the new French party contesting the European elections on the principle of L'Europe des Nations. Its other leaders are Philippe de Villiers, a moderate Catholic Conservative, and Charles de Gaulle, the present standard bearer of the family.

Over the years I have become an experienced observer of charisma: the best indicator is the way in which the public approaches the candidate. If people have a strong desire to make personal contact, to exchange a phrase, to introduce themselves, to obtain an autograph, to shake hands or even to touch the candidate's sleeve, the influence is working. I walked across in the spring sunshine from L'Hôtel George V, where the signing took place, to the restaurant where we were lunching. People were coming up to Jimmy Goldsmith in just this way. It was like observing Margaret Thatcher at a Conservative Party conference, or Ronald Reagan in the Republican primaries of 1980. I had not been to any of the meetings of L'Autre Europe but I am told it has a following of 2,000 or more in small provincial cities, and is drawing crowds several times those of its opponents: in one city 2,200 came for Sir James to 500 for Jacques Chirac. Sir James is not ambitious in terms of French politics, but he provides a

focus for the whole alternative European movement, and finance for what is in effect another European secretariat. He had also contributed to other campaigns; he paid for the legal challenge against Maastricht in the High Court. Without him, the rest of us would face the Brussels network with no network of our own. What was clear from the discussions at our meeting was that in the European nations there is a strong anti-federal

example. Dr Manfred Brunner won a remarkable victory last year in persuading the German constitutional court to draw a line under Maastricht which would make a further move towards Euro-federalism unconstitutional in Germany. He is fighting the European elections from his base in Bavaria, as an "other European". He is having the greatest difficulty in obtaining coverage on German television or in the newspapers for his democratic campaign. He told me that he believed his party could obtain as much as a third of the vote if he could break through this wall of establishment silence. As it is, his party is likely to elect a fair number of members of the European Parliament. He is indeed a serious threat to both the minority partners of the ruling CDU. Next November, in the federal elections, Dr Brunner's party could push both the FDP, of which he used to be the Bavarian president, and the CSU, which is the leading Bavarian party, below the 5 per cent level at which they obtain proportional representation in the Bundestag. So Dr Brunner could well cause the downfall of one of the great architects of Maastricht, Chancellor Kohl. It would be historic justice.

In Italy, the other Europe has already won. In France and Germany, the parties representing the other Europe are contesting European elections with rising public

support, though it will take all Sir James Goldsmith's toughness to secure the television coverage which was the key to Signor Berlusconi's success in Italy. In Britain the first-past-the-post system does not give the other Europe a direct electoral opportunity; if Euro-federalism is defeated it will be through rather than outside the traditional parties. I sympathise with Dr Alan Sked, but I do not think his Independence Party can win a seat. In the end it will be the loyal Conservatism of William Cash — a signer in Paris — which will prevail.

Even in Britain the political situation is changing and has changed. As in Italy, Maastricht could not now be repeated. It was the bridge too far that we said at the time. There is not going to be another bridge still further in 1996. If the Conservative Party chooses a new Leader this year, he will have to give adequate assurances on his attitude to Euro-federalism. After the next election, if the Conservatives are defeated, no one will be able to hold them on the Maastricht line.

The new Europe is going to be much closer to "L'Europe des Nations" than to "L'Europe des Bureaux". All serious political analysis starts with the realities of loyalty, authority and sovereignty. Sovereignty can only come from authority and authority can only come from loyalty. The British feel British; the French feel French; the Germans feel German. So long as that is so, Europeans can build a Europe of trade and co-operation between the sovereign states; any further step towards the destruction of these primary loyalties risks breaking up the European family. The other Europeans are the good Europeans; it is the Euro-fanatics who threaten to destroy our European home.

William Rees-Mogg

public opinion which is being manipulated and suppressed by the federalist establishment. We all had the same experiences of the assumed political correctness of Euro-federalism, of the bland belief of governments that they know better than their people, of the indifference of the press and television to the case for or against the existence of the other Europe. The Danes, the Portuguese, the Norwegians, the Austrians, the French, the Germans and the British all had the same experience of public support and establishment hostility. The German case is a good

The Quaker under the skin

Jonathan Aitken on the private drives behind Nixon's public persona

Nixon the man was even more intriguing than Nixon the statesman. "Complex" was the adjective frequently used by journalists to describe his multi-faceted personality, not least because he existed behind a battle-scarred carapace which he himself described as "an overdeveloped wall of privacy". Surprisingly few people ever got behind this wall, but I think I may have been one of them.

Passing through London last month, aged 81, on the outward leg of his ninth visit to Moscow, Richard Nixon telephoned unexpectedly and asked if I would like to come with him to the theatre. The invitation, like his choice of show, seemed out of character, but we duly set off for the Shaftesbury Theatre like a couple of tourists and settled unrecognised into our seats in the stalls to see the revival of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Cornelius*.

As the musical got under way, it became apparent that Mr Nixon was word perfect in many of the lines. When the story reached its climax, he seemed to be in the grip of powerful emotions, especially during "You'll Never Walk Alone", when tears trickled down his cheeks. As we walked away from the theatre, Mr Nixon felt it necessary to provide an explanation for the display. He said that *Cornelius* had been the favourite musical of his late wife, Pat, and that he had chosen "You'll Never Walk Alone" for her funeral last year.

After a pause he added that the show's lead male character reminded him of Harold, his elder brother, who had died of tuberculosis. In two days' time, he continued, it would be March 7, the anniversary of Harold's death. That date was also his mother's birthday, but she could never bear to celebrate it because of the association. After another pause, he said wistfully that before Harold had died the family had often gone out for birthday picnics on the beach like the one in *Cornelius*.

For a man who normally shunned personalised small-talk, Mr Nixon's urge to share these poignant memories was a revealing reminder that his deep family roots and Quaker upbringing were central to his identity — which is surely the closest 20th-

century approximation to the "log cabin to White House" legend. Richard Milhous Nixon was born in a rustic Californian clapboard cottage which had no electricity, running water, wireless, telephone or inside privy. He had a hard-scrabble childhood, one step away from poverty, his formative years made difficult by a dominating father and sad by the deaths of two of his brothers.

His most important influence was his mother, Hannah. Long before her son became famous, she was known in her local community of Whittier as "a Quaker saint". She instilled into him the belief that equality between races and peacemaking between nations were Christ's most important teachings. In return, he loved her deeply, but strangely.

Time and again in my many hours of biographer's conversations with Mr Nixon, he spoke movingly about the great debt he owed to his mother, but on one occasion he added the unexpected information that she had never kissed him. When I expressed surprise, Mr Nixon grew quite angry, saying that my comment might have come from "one of those rather pathetic Freudian psychiatrists" and added: "My mother could communicate far more than others could with a lot of sloppy talk and even more sloppy kissing and hugging. I can never remember her saying to any of us, 'I love you' — she didn't have to!"

Although buttoned-up inhibition may have been part of the Nixon heritage, this did not mean that he was an unfeeling or unemotional man. Far from it. He put his passion into his politics and it powered him to early stardom. Yet as he always acknowledged, Nixon would never have been elected to the office one heartbeat away from the presidency at the age of 39 had it not been for the granite support of his wife, Pat. It was she who gave him the contented family life, with two daughters, that created the happier hinterland of his hidden person — a kind, generous and loving father and grandfather.

Yet, for all his private virtues, it is as a public man that Richard Nixon would wish to be judged. Even here the two sides of his existence were



more connected than has been recognised. During his wilderness years of 1960-68, Mr Nixon told his intimate friends that the real reason he wanted the presidency was to honour his mother's ideals.

It was a promise he did much to keep. For Mr Nixon was the President who desegregated Southern schools; who ended the war in Vietnam; who ended the draft; who brought China back into the family of nations; who saved Israel from annihilation; and who initiated the process of détente with the Soviet Union with a series of groundbreaking disarmament agreements. A recent comment by George Bush seems well justified: "History will say of Richard Nixon, here was a true architect of peace."

History will say other things too.

For Mr Nixon undoubtedly had a dark side to his character. In his private musings, now embarrassingly preserved on the White House tapes, he could be vindictive and paranoid, particularly when talking about his liberal tormentors in Congress and the media. As for Watergate, it was a sordid and shameful mess, a terrible episode in a great career.

So Watergate, like Mr Nixon, deserves re-evaluation. It has made Mr Nixon the most controversial and complicated character ever to occupy the Oval Office. If he had died, as he so nearly did, soon after his resignation, his obituary notices would have been an undiluted chorus of vilification. They will read differently now because the last 20 years of his life were perhaps the most remarkable of

all in terms of the development of his character. Transforming himself from exiled pariah to honoured elder statesman was nothing less than a miracle of political resurrection. How did he do it?

I came to know him well during his two decades of rehabilitation, or "the years of Fighting Back", as he sometimes liked to call them. Running for ex-president was a good line to describe his energetic globe-trotting, writing and speech-making, but the reality was far more profound. He was working unremittingly to influence the future. During his penitential years, he wrote eight best-selling books on foreign policy and dispatched a steady flow of influential private memoranda to Presidents Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton. He launched his Presidential Library and a new Nixon Centre for Peace and International Relations. He continued to travel and speak widely, winning increasing acclaim as America's leading foreign policy expert. Longevity brought him the serenity, recognition and fulfilment that had for so long eluded him.

By chance, the last audience he addressed was a gathering in my house on March 17. The still ambitious octogenarian was keen to convey his latest impressions of the situation in Russia to a group of ministers, defence chiefs, intelligence experts, editors and parliamentarians. He prepared for the occasion with his usual intensity and delivered a tour de force of a speech without a note. Including question time, he was on his feet for nearly 90 minutes. The details of his knowledge, the lucidity of his presentation, and the incisive brilliance of his judgments dazzled all of us present.

Mr Nixon enjoyed his evening. As he got into the car, he said to me: "Well, didn't it? Clever group. But I've spoken in your house eight times in 14 years. I think that will have to be the last one."

I said I hoped that he might come back one more time. "Nine speeches, eh? Nine lives? Who knows," he mused. "Anyway, keep on fighting!" And with that characteristic salutation he waved and was gone. We shall not look upon his like again.

The author is Conservative MP for Thanet South and author of *Nixon: A Life* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £25).

● Peter Riddell's column will appear later this week.

D-Day minus

TWO months ago, when Sir Tim Bell won the D-Day contract for his firm Lowe Bell, the other shortlisted agencies kicked themselves. This was the big one, they murmured bitterly. Now, as the row over the great day shows no signs of abating, the same PR men are sounding distinctly smug.

Also on the shortlist were Shandwick, and Hill & Knowlton. Like Bell, who coached Baroness Thatcher through three election victories, both have impeccable Tory connections. Shandwick's chairman is Peter Gummer, brother of John, the Environment Secretary. Sir Bernard Ingham, Thatcher's former press secretary, is a non-executive director of Hill & Knowlton.

With Bell recommending such jollities to local authorities as tree-planting and sandcastle-building (the Spam-frying had been dreamt

up before he was brought in), there has been gloating in PR land.

Gummer was uncontactable yesterday, but Ingham's glee is palpable. He says: "We would have liked to have had this one, but it's clear we're well out of it now." He does, however, back Bell's general approach, and believes it is the veterans who are being "hypo-critical". The people who stormed the beaches deserve a good celebration. The whole thing is quite nauseating. And would he have done a better job? "Well, we couldn't have done a worse job."

● The Thatcher bandwagon continues to roll. Today sees him in Eton, awarding the first Wilfred Thesiger Award. The prize, Eton's idea, will be given annually to Old Etonians who not only can travel to remote regions, but translate their wanderings into Thesiger-like prose. The

old traveller says that, although it "takes a day to get to Pakistan these days", adventurous travel deserves celebration. "For young people it's a very good thing."

Gilding the lily

LEST he should have to make do with Spam fritters on the D-Day anniversary, the Prince of Wales will be fattening himself up in style. Over June 3-5 he will be in Prague, a guest of Vaclav Havel, as they hold their first conference as

joint presidents of the Prague Heritage Fund. Anton Mosimann will be serving gold-plated chicken.

Mosimann is keen to avoid a repeat of the difficulties encountered by Michel Roux, who laid on a five-course dinner for Boris Yeltsin at the Kremlin earlier this month, only to find the Russians judged five courses woefully inadequate for the capacious presidential appetite.

Mosimann has laid on an ample six courses. But it is the *Coquet de la ferme rôt aux feuilles d'or* ("Polois de Prague") of which he is proudest. Gold leaf will be flown out from Britain. Gustav Husak should be turning in his grave.



DIARY

First past the post

TO COINCIDE with the South African elections, Radio 4 is broadcasting a live drama on Wednesday called *Election Lives*. It tells the story of a black South African family in Britain, whose decision to return to their homeland hinges on the voting.

The producers were understandably keen to go on air when the results were known, likely to be Saturday. The BBC, in its wisdom, chose to give them a slot three days before. Jeremy Howe, editor of drama series and serials, defends the decision. "It could have gone when the results came out but the controller, Michael Green, said by then

everyone will be bored with the election."

Dead unlucky

LIFE has been good to Dame Barbara Cartland. She has just published her 57th (or is it 57th?) novel and passed her 92nd (or 93rd?) birthday. Her carefully laid arrangements for her eventual passing to the great book fair in the sky are, however, proving trickier.

To her biographer, Tim Heald, Cartland has confided that she has fallen out with the Right Rev Philip Davies, over her gravestone. She wanted a large marble slab with "lots of angels". Davies has vetoed marble, because "it lasts too long". A ground-level plaque was requested, "so they could now move easily".

In protest, Cartland plans to be buried in her garden at Camfield Place in Hertfordshire. No problem here, says Nick Moir, chaplain to the Bishop of St Albans. "Her garden is big enough for her own mausoleum."



Archibald Cox taking his oath during the hearings

One last Watergate scoop

WITH impeccable timing, the Institute of United States Studies in London today starts a two-day Watergate conference. The institute, part of London University, has booked the big Watergate White House employee who allegedly gave the burglars their orders: Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor who dragged Nixon through the courts; Robert Bork, the head

of the Justice Department who fired Cox; and Leonard Garment, the lawyer who organised Nixon's last-ditch defence. The institute, while feeling regret at raking over Watergate at a time of grief for Nixon's family, is nonetheless delighted. Director Gary McDowell says: "We've got all the major US networks coming over — CBS, NBC, ABC, CNN. It's great for us, in a sad way."



PRESIDENT NIXON

Salute to a strategist whose skills are sadly missed today.

Writing in 1990 in unusually bland vein, Richard Milhous Nixon remarked that "one must wait until the evening to see how splendid the day has been". In his case, the wait had necessarily been long. Even today, controversy is inseparable from the name of this abrasive politician, of whom Walter Lippmann wrote in 1960 that he lacked "that inner conviction and self-confidence which are the mark of the natural leader". Lippmann identified the flaws which were to bring him to the brink of impeachment 14 years later, and to humiliating resignation. The shadow of Watergate, lengthened by his own folly in converting a relatively minor scandal into a political catastrophe, still distorts the public perspective on the greatest international statesman to have occupied the Oval Office since the Second World War.

Richard Nixon may not have been a "natural" leader. In today's televised public life, his combative style and scorn for the politics of consensus would have doomed him at the early primaries. Few men in political life have had such a turbulent relationship with Fortune's wheel, and few with his brilliance have displayed such a bent for inflicting damage on themselves. But Lippmann underestimated his capacity to compensate by his intelligence, his grasp of the broad geopolitical picture and, not least, his understanding that leadership meant innovation and a readiness to take risks.

Prominent in the McCarthyite witch-hunts of the 1950s, he first made international headlines as Vice-President in 1959 with his celebrated "Kitchen debate" on communism with Nikita Khrushchev. Yet by the time he had served eight years in the vice-presidency under Eisenhower, and eight more in the political wilderness, his anti-communism had weathered into a hard-headed assessment of Western interests: he sought the presidency in 1968 from the centre, not the right wing, of the Republican Party. He was narrowly elected on the pledge to end American involvement in Vietnam, balance the budget and bring peace to riot-torn cities. Little in this carefully vague campaign presaged great changes in American policy; yet four years later, and despite the error of widening the war to Cambodia and Laos, he had earned his triumphal re-election by six out of ten voters.

Since he had no illusions about Mao Tse-

tung's regime, he had the confidence to break with the policy of refusing all contact with it: his trip to Peking in 1972 was one of the very few that justifies the epithet of historic. By 1972, he had reduced the number of American troops in Vietnam from 550,000 to 20,000 and begun — ever a realist, not a moralist — the diplomatic retreat from a war he judged as militarily unwinnable as it was politically divisive. With the Nixon Doctrine, he alerted Japan and America's other Asian allies to the need to have more care in future for their own security.

To have begun to extract America from its entanglement in Vietnam without obviously weakening its global standing required an element of bluff. This was also true of his pursuit of détente with the Soviet Union, and the symbolic first step towards arms control represented by Salt-1. Some of these policies came close to outright repudiation after Watergate. Gerald Ford was to ban the word détente in the White House, and the flawed Salt-2, negotiated by Mr Nixon, rightly failed to gain Senate ratification.

But the Nixon strategy was right for its time; and it was he who first grasped, in 1980, that the moment had come to rebuild Western pressure on the Soviet Union, privately convincing Ronald Reagan to increase defence spending. His re-emergence as public commentator on international affairs came only with his gradual rehabilitation in the mid-1980s; by then, he saw with a clarity matched by few the imminence of sweeping changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In the final phase of his life, he turned his attention west, perturbed that the absence of fear would "remove the glue that holds the Nato alliance together" and, above all, turn America inward on itself.

Mr Nixon came of a generation forced to be conscious, as he wrote, that "peace has barely survived in the rocky soil of the 20th century". The new post-communist disorder flows for that generation directly out of the old. In these days of apparent numbness in the face of crisis observable in the White House, the need for such politicians stands out far more vividly than the memory of the absurdities and shame of Watergate. What matters in retrospect is that President Nixon made the rocky soil more amenable to the always vulnerable flowers of peace.

WEAKENING TIES

Boarding schools must adapt vigorously to halt their decline

The annual census of the Independent Schools Information Service (ISIS) must be dreaded by heads of boarding schools across the nation. Last year's report showed a 6 per cent fall in their pupil numbers since 1992, the sharpest drop since the census was first drawn up. Tomorrow, ISIS will once again disclose a decline in the popularity of boarding schools with parents. It is tempting to prepare an obituary for this distinctively British educational tradition.

Boarding schools face a daunting range of problems. Their fees have increased well ahead of inflation, thanks in part to heavy spending on ambitious capital projects during the 1980s. The number of forces children eligible for boarding allowances has dwindled dramatically, while the recession has been a more general disincentive.

Social trends have also conspired against boarding schools. Originally conceived as institutions where young gentlemen could acquire the skills needed to run their own and other nations, boarding schools continued to benefit from their reputation for rigour and ruggedness long after the demand for empire-builders had fallen away. Yet most businesses cannot survive on nostalgia alone. For many parents, indeed, the traditional image of boarding life drawn from Tom Brown's School days is now a deterrent. The presumption that it was in children's interests to wean them off home comforts has been replaced by the view that to send them to a boarding school is an

abdication of parental responsibility. The truth lies somewhere in between. Boarding schools no longer play such a central role in British society and the coaching of its élite. But neither are they the backward-looking, repressive institutions that many parents imagine them to be. A survey of 5,000 boarders last year by Isis last year showed that more than three-quarters of them enjoyed the lifestyle offered by their schools. Many pupils, particularly those in the sixth form, find residential education liberating and challenging. Boarding is traditionally associated with independence and self-reliance. But it can also teach skills of co-operation.

The essence of this kind of education was once conformity to a rigid tradition; in today's more competitive environment, boarding schools will attract custom only if they diversify their services. Expensive facilities are not enough. Schools must offer flexible boarding arrangements, permitting overnight and weekend home stays — and enabling day pupils to board temporarily when family circumstances so require. Ways in which boarding can be combined with artistic and sporting specialisation should also be explored. Above all, heads must find ways of attracting prospective pupils, as well as prospective parents, by open days and other lively publicity. The successful boarding schools of the future will be those which understand the need to adapt in the fierce new education marketplace.

THE ICEMAN AWAKENS

Modern science uncovers the secrets of prehistory

It is in the nature of human affairs that great discoveries are made unexpectedly. Nearly three years ago, a pair of mountain-ramblers on an outing of typically Teutonic exuberance chanced upon the oldest intact human body, perfectly preserved in an Alpine glacier. It belonged to a man who is now known affectionately as the Iceman.

Preserved by scientists in glacial conditions, the Iceman — or *Homo tyrolensis* — has enriched significantly our understanding of the Late Stone Age, bringing to life the remote Neolithic period. Yet it would be wrong to measure his weight in historical or archaeological terms alone. The value of the Iceman is, equally, emotional. History, after all, makes us shudder and laugh by turns. Professor Konrad Spindler of the Innsbruck Institute of Prehistory wrote, on seeing the body, that he knew what Howard Carter experienced when he gazed into the face of Tutankhamun. Yet the Iceman was neither pharaoh nor nobleman: he was Everyman, and it is this which has fired subaltern imaginations.

Archaeology is a mighty vocation, and one must cherish its practitioners: yet few others are able to decipher — let alone muster enthusiasm for — fragments of pottery, lumps of bronze, or pieces of chipped bone. These materials speak an esoteric tongue,

making great swaths of human history inaccessible to those who do not speak it too. But the appeal of the Iceman is not arcane: a man with discernible features who froze to death, fully clothed and bearing the supplies needed for an arduous trek, is more evocative of life 5,000 years ago than a sackful of shattered artifacts.

The Iceman is a rare treasure, serendipitously encountered in the late 20th century. Just as the site and circumstances of his death ensured his survival for posterity, so too did the timing of his discovery guarantee that the gift of his body would be put to best use. The analytical techniques of modern science will uncover an enthralling medley of information. Now a study of his hair — conducted by Professor Don Brothwell of York University — will tell us what he, and other members of his community, ate. Did they eat turnips, or spinach, or cheese? It will be hard not to marvel at the seamless web of man's history.

The Iceman's discovery in 1991 was fortuitous for another reason. Had he been found in the last century, or in earlier times, he could have expected nothing more than the fruitless — if dignified — prospect of a Christian burial. Instead, today, the miracle of technology allows him to tell his simple human tale to all.

Essential shifts in Ulster attitudes

From Mr David Trimble, MP for Upper Bann (Ulster Unionist)

Sir, Vernon Bogdanor (letter, April 20) is quite right to stress that the political priority in Northern Ireland must be an internal settlement that gives all the people a real opportunity to participate in politics. He is also right to focus on John Hume's role in this. But I fear that merely to call on him to take part in talks is not enough.

We had talks two years ago in which we put forward proposals for a local administration which would operate on the basis of proportionality. But Mr Hume made it clear that he would not accept any administration based on an elected body in Northern Ireland. Sir Patrick Mayhew told us then that our proposals were acceptable to Her Majesty's Government, and he also knows that they are not unwelcome to many in Mr Hume's party. I think the public are entitled to ask what obstacle has prevented Sir Patrick from making progress where it so obviously can be made.

He must know that if he accords Mr Hume a veto it will be exercised to ensure that the current absence of local government in Northern Ireland will continue.

Sincerely,
DAVID TRIMBLE,
House of Commons.
April 20.

From Dr Brian Caul

Sir, Two major shifts in attitude within Northern Ireland are essential. Unionists must accept that their future has to be closely and increasingly formally linked to the Republic of Ireland — i.e., Nationalists must actively devote themselves to working within the new devolved political structures that will inevitably emerge in the North. There should also be more acknowledgement by Nationalists of the substantial progress made in the North to promote fair employment.

An essential first step must be the immediate creation of a new power-sharing assembly, accompanied by a bill of rights. Some form of council for co-operation with the Republic could also be established, recognising our need to work together socially, educationally and economically in the context of the developing European Union.

Yours sincerely,
BRIAN CAUL,
20 Islandcraigh Road,
Coleraine, Co Londonderry.
April 23.

Lest we forget

From Commander J. P. B. Ellison RN (ret'd)

Sir, The fracas over the commemoration of D-Day (report and letters, April 22) could have been avoided had the Government consulted the people who actually did the fighting before promulgating their proposals. I hope that in 1995 they will get it right and remember that for those of us in the Far East the war ended on August 15, 1945 — VJ-Day.

It will cause much resentment amongst those members of the British and Commonwealth forces who served in the Far East, especially the survivors of the prison camps, service personnel and civilians, should they, once again, be forgotten.

Yours faithfully,
J. P. B. ELLISON,
Old Plum Trees, Plum Tree Green,
Healdon, Ashford, Kent.
April 22.

Women at work

From Mrs Sophie Chalmers

Sir, As a mother of two small children I work (more than) full time from home (letters, April 20, 22). Suitably, perhaps, I edit a magazine for self-employed home-workers. I waste no time commuting, and enjoy three meals a day with my children.

To do this, however, I have to employ a day nanny (9am-6pm). Yet this major and essential cost is almost the only one I cannot charge as a business expense. Why can I not treat the nanny as a normal employee? If the Government truly wants to encourage home-working mothers, they should correct this unfair anomaly. No nanny, no job for me, no job for her, less overall tax for the Treasury. A clear case of nasal amputation.

Yours faithfully,
SOPHIE CHALMERS
(Editor, Home Run),
79 Black Lion Lane, W6.

Accents awry

From Dr Alan Bullock

Sir, I note Richard Morrison's perceptive comment ("Who will wuther the heights with Cliffs?", Arts, April 9) that "the Cathy of Emily Brontë's dreams probably didn't speak with a Clouseau accent", as does Juliette Binoche in the film version of *Wuthering Heights*.

I note, likewise, that John Peter, in his review of *Johnny On A Spot* in *The Sunday Times* of April 10, mentions with some concern that "the accents are all over the place", given the notorious difficulties experienced by British actors in sounding American.

I have seen no comment, however, on the equally absurd effect produced

Humane response to call of the wild

From Mr John F. Robins

Sir, For Simon Jenkins to portray Canada geese as vicious villains producing lethal droppings ("Under attack by wild geese", April 16) is of little help in the debate over whether or not to cull them.

There are currently campaigns to cull seals, grey squirrels, mink, various species of deer, rats, pigeons, gulls, starlings, ruddy duck and Canada geese. In all of these instances the creatures are being used as scapegoats for human stupidity; they did not ask to be brought to our shores.

Seals did not invite humans to deplete the seas of fish or put floating salmon factory farms on almost every sea loch in Scotland. Red deer did not replace natural forests with great softwood plantations and estate boundaries. Animals and birds we class as vermin are only exploiting the habitats and food sources we provide for them.

If a case for reducing the numbers of certain species can be proven, either to alleviate suffering through starvation or to control serious environmental damage, then a cull should not be an option. Culling is a clean euphemism for an often cruel slaughter involving shooting, trapping or poisoning.

Darting larger mammals with long-lasting contraceptives and feeding smaller mammals and birds with contraceptive-laced baits would humanely reduce populations. This, which would be more expensive and time-consuming than culling, might force us to take stock of our own over-exploitation of the environment. Wild animals do not compete with humans for land or food — we steal it from them without compensation.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN F. ROBINS
(Organising Secretary),
Animal Concern,
62 Old Dumbarton Road, Glasgow.

From Mr James Wilde

Sir, Simon Jenkins has put his finger on a sensitive issue. Canada geese

(*Branta canadensis*), like that other exotic bird import, the ruddy duck (*Oxyura jamaicensis*), have not settled on our shores in a grateful way, but have become aggressive and, in some places, the dominant species.

Canada geese were introduced into Britain in the late 17th century; they were brought here by wealthy merchants, they were few in number and they possessed a rarity cachet. Unfortunately they bred. In 1976 there were estimated to be about 20,000 of them in the UK; in 1991 there were around 63,000. By 2006 there may be as many as 250,000. Plainly something has to be done.

A modern-day Pied Piper must be recruited to rid us of them, to take them quietly to some secure haven and there take secret measures to see that they do not trouble us further. How about (if the owner agrees) the remote island of Canna, in the Hebrides, where the pasture is good and the climate friendly?

The Piper must be paid, of course, and the troublesome, messy birds would have to be renamed: I propose Canna geese.

Yours faithfully,
JAMES WILDE,
29 Florida Fields,
Castle Cary, Somerset.
April 21.

From Mr David Himsforth

Sir, On April 15 you reported (early editions only) that the RSPCA had rescued three orphaned fox cubs to rear and release back into the wild.

How wonderful! The animals and birds of the wild must be rejoicing at the prospect of all that fox mayhem. I wonder if the RSPCA would have done the same for parentally disadvantaged rats? Has some form of political correctness infiltrated animal welfare?

Yours faithfully,
DAVID HIMSFORTH,
Hanging Hill Farm,
Kennythorpe,
Malton, North Yorkshire.
April 21.

Use of TV frequencies

From Mr Robert MacLennan, MP for Cuthbert and Sutherland (Liberal Democrat)

Sir, The Government is expected to decide next week upon the future use of the last two national terrestrial television frequencies. Their choice lies between the use of those frequencies now, by broadcasters using traditional analogue signals or, in the future, by those wishing to use new, digital signals.

In the interests of early maximising of choice for the 87 per cent of British households which do not have cable or satellite television at present, the Government should allow an analogue service to occupy one of those two frequencies as a fifth channel freely available to all.

South African elections

From Lord Monson

Sir, Mr Robert Hughes, MP, claims (letter, April 20) that the ANC has been "imaginative and courageous" in conceding "extensive autonomy" to the nine new provinces to be created under the South African interim constitution. The reality, unhappily, is somewhat different.

Writing in *The South African Communist* (no 135) at the end of 1993, Mr Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party and now a prominent ANC candidate, boasted that "our opponents hoped for federalism. We have won a united South Africa... In all critical areas the future state will have overriding powers."

Essentially, provincial legislative powers are no wider than under the constitutions of 1910 and 1961. Provinces have no exclusive powers; the constitution states that a provincial legislature shall have "concurrent competence with Parliament"; and

such a decision would not damage the longer-term development of digital television. The costs of land-based digital broadcasting to the viewers and to the broadcasters themselves would be high, perhaps too high to make any such service profitable. Digital broadcasting by satellite, however, will cost less to send and to receive, and would be viable. Nor will it be confined by the scarcity of frequencies available to terrestrial broadcasters.

A fifth analogue channel need not, therefore, prevent us from having a longer-term digital future. We can, and should, allow ourselves both.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT MACLENNAN
(Liberal Democrat Spokesman
on Broadcasting),
House of Commons.
April 21.

that "an Act of Parliament which deals with a provincial matter shall prevail over a provincial law" inconsistent therewith.

The numerous fierce critics in this country of the centralising tendencies inherent in the Police and Magistrates' Courts Bill currently before our own Parliament will be interested to know that in the new South Africa the national police will have the right to move in to any province and that regional police commissioners will be appointed centrally.

A strongly centralised state, aiming for the maximum degree of uniformity, may appear to offer some short-term attractions, particularly in the economic field. But given South Africa's size and heterogeneity — which make the former Yugoslavia seem like Denmark by comparison — such a system is almost certain to lead to trouble in the longer term.

Yours faithfully,
MONSON,
House of Lords.

Eastward, lo...

From Mrs J. Lucy Fletcher

Sir, In a news report on April 13 you attributed to Mr Anthony Boswood, QC, counsel for the Bank of England, in the High Court, the peculiar comment that "There is an extraordinary Essex flavour about this case".

He meant this to be a compliment. I presume.

Yours faithfully,
J. FLETCHER,
60 Fontaine Avenue,
Chigwell, Essex.

Girls at the altar

From Mrs Mary Riley

Sir, I read (report, April 5) that the Vatican is to allow female altar-servers during Mass. More than 20 years ago the Reverend Father Gabriel Gibbey, OSB, allowed girls to serve at the altar at St Mary's, Warrington. He called them his serviettes.

Yours faithfully,
MARY RILEY,
Barratwich, Cuddington Lane,
Cuddington, Cheshire.
April 15.

An unjust charge of racism at Bar

From Mr Richard B. Mowrey, QC

Sir, Your report today on the Law Society's survey on prejudice against would-be lawyers must be disturbing to anyone in either branch of the legal profession. However, the views expressed by students do not always give the full picture.

Like most barristers' chambers, we annually sift pupillage applications, and we shortlist and interview the best on merit (irrespective of their ethnic origin), in each case working solely on merit.

Not long ago we shortlisted and interviewed a particular student from an "ethnic minority". Although he was a reasonably good applicant, there were several much better qualified, including other candidates from ethnic minorities, one of whom was offered the top funded pupillage (and subsequently a tenancy).

We were subsequently astonished to read in the national press an article by the student, ascribing his failure to obtain a pupillage at any of the chambers to which he had applied to blatant racism on the part of the Bar. The article was greeted by some in the media as clear proof that such racism existed. The fact is, however, that in a very competitive field, he was not good enough.

Racial prejudice undoubtedly does exist in all professions and cannot be justified wherever it exists; but one must also recognise the obvious temptation for some members of ethnic minorities to ascribe their lack of success to racism when the reality may simply be lack of ability.

The number of very able and successful barristers and solicitors from ethnic minorities who are currently in practice belies the argument that racism is preventing genuinely talented people from practising the law.

Yours sincerely,
RICHARD B. MAWREY,
2 Harcourt Buildings,
Temple, EC4.
April 21.

A voice for London

From the Secretary of the Association of County Councils

Sir, The undemocratic nature of the Government's new regional arrangements for London is worse than your leader of April 15, "Capital choice", implied (see also letters, April 13, 21).

According to a recent DTI statement, the new London regional office is to be known as "the Government office for London" and will provide "a single point of contact for London, London business and voluntary organisations". To such are the former London and Greater London County Councils now effectively reduced.

An elected strategic authority is needed to provide a "voice" and focus for any area. Londoners already feel the loss of theirs. The new arrangements do nothing to help.

Yours faithfully,
ROBIN WENDT, Secretary,
Association of County Councils,
66a Eaton Square, SW1.

Crime and punishment

From Dr David A. Harris

Sir, Your readers can rejoice at the great pleasure that W. Morton (letter, April 22) takes in predicting that Michael Fay will never again commit acts of vandalism in Singapore. His prediction could take on even more certainty if Singapore were to introduce the death penalty for vandalism. That would not make it an even more correct punishment, however.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID A. HARRIS,
Chestnut Rise, Harwell, Oxfordshire.

Error over patient

From Mr John Cooper

Sir, For the record, it was a human error which led to a 70-year-old man not being seen at the Royal Free Hospital last December, not the result of the NHS "internal market" ("Speaker rebukes Major in row on health scandal", April 15, later editions). Specialist services for elderly people have been provided on a district basis since 1974. The confusion in this particular case was between a request for emergency admission and a request for admission to the specialist team — health services for elderly people.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN COOPER (Chief Executive),
Royal Free Hospital,
Fond Street, NW3.

Watch it

From Mr Stanley Lerner

Sir, May I pitch in (letters, April 13, 16, 20, 21) with the suggestion that a golfing regulator might be found to be Offputting.

Yours faithfully,
STANLEY LERNER,
37 Howe Park Way, Hove, Sussex.

From Mrs H. A. Robinson

Sir... and what about Offpeak for footloose mountaineers?

Yours etc,
SUSAN ROBINSON,
Pilsdon Barn,
Nr Bridport, Dorset.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — 071-782 5046.



THE TIMES MONDAY APRIL 25 1994

OBITUARY

RICHARD NIXON

Richard Nixon, 37th President of the United States, died in a New York hospital on April 22 aged 81. He was born in Yorba Linda, California, on January 9, 1913.

Richard Nixon was the only President in the history of the United States to be forced to resign in order to avoid impeachment. To the end of his life he remained a divisive figure whose demeaning of his office was never forgiven by at least half his fellow countrymen.

Yet the disgrace of Watergate masked some real and lasting achievements as a statesman. He had a sure touch in foreign affairs, something which most recent American Presidents have lacked. He achieved, for instance, a realistic Far East policy — as only an acknowledged right-wing President could have done — by reaching an understanding with Communist China. And he extracted his country, with as much dignity as was possible from the quagmire of the Vietnam War.

To some extent he contrived to rehabilitate his image in the last years of his life. But then, as he had proved in crisis after crisis in his political career, Richard Nixon was nothing if not a dogged fighter with an amazing ability to bounce back after defeat. The phrase "the greatest comeback since Lazarus" was applied to him by James Reston of *The New York Times* in 1968 and by the time he opened his presidential library at Yorba Linda in 1990 there were those prepared to say the same of his fight to restore his reputation. Nevertheless, the damage, the sheer sleaze of his methods inflicted on standards of American public life was enormous, and the modern presidency was never to be looked upon in quite the same reverent light again. It was Nixon who opened the floodgates for the spirit of public cynicism, spilling over into prudence, that today appears to characterise the American political process.

His original offence — the decision to cover up an unlawful but scarcely unique piece of political burglary on the part of over-zealous Republican *apparatchiks* — would have been bad enough if he had confessed to it when the stormclouds first gathered. But the damage came in the way the Watergate saga unfolded — a long tale of evasion, lies and, most distasteful of all, Nixon's tactic of allowing his underlings, one by one, to be thrown to the wolves while he denied responsibility.

The incidents of the story were no less unprepossessing. It was painful for Americans, and their friends abroad, to watch the calibre being revealed of the men Nixon had assembled as his staff within the White House. And when the famous "White House tapes" were finally published, even in expurgated form, eyebrows were raised at the coarseness of language that was evidently commonplace in the corridors of power: the phrase "explosive deleted" entered the vocabulary of the black humour of the Seventies.

But harkles rose, too, at the arrogance of some of those who hounded Nixon to his fate. The media inevitably played a big part in his downfall. (The phrase "Deep Throat", code-name of the informant who kept Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of the *Washington Post* on the President's trail, also passed into Seventies' vocabulary.) The sense of power, the consciousness of an ability to bring down Presidents — and presidential candidates — became itself one of the less attractive features of American democracy.

Even without Watergate, Nixon would have been one of the United States' most controversial politicians. His political style was in a robust tradition, a no-holds-barred approach that had characterised other Americans who had clawed their way to the top — but it was not a style for the squeamish. Nor, for that matter, was his frequent resort to unctuousness, as in his promise during his 1960 TV debates with Senator Jack Kennedy to restore decent language to the White House.

His lack of popular appeal was summed up by yet another piece of Nixon folklore. His opponents devised a poster to exploit an unfortunate physical characteristic: the heavy-jowled Nixon face, unless freshly shaved, could suggest a gangster-like quality. Its caption — "Would you buy a used car from this man?" — was another catchphrase of the day.

It was all too easy to deduce that there were two Nixons: the one who could occasionally aspire to heights of political genius, the statesman who could put his finger on great issues of his times; the other, to use the nickname of which he never managed to rid himself, "Tricky Dick". But the truth — as even so celebrated a chronicler as Theodore White eventually discovered to his cost — was that there never was "a new" or "an old" Nixon. There was just one insecure personality whose character, with its equally striking strengths and weaknesses, was always all of one piece.

A classic example of an autodidact, Richard Milhous Nixon was born into a modest Quaker family, within which he adored his devout, placid mother and barely tolerated his trawling, argumentative father. His boyhood was clouded by the death from tuberculosis of two of his brothers. But, inspired by the idea that if you start without advantages you need to try harder, the young Nixon soon made his own way up the educational ladder, eventually ending up at the law school of Duke University, North Carolina. He then practised law first privately and then government service until slightly belatedly he was elected to Congress in 1950.

At least, however, he had been in uniform and at the end of the war he answered a famous advertisement which invited applications for nomination as a candidate for California's twelfth congressional district. The local Republicans were looking for a vigorous candidate to oust the left-wing incumbent Democrat, Jerry Voorhis.



Nixon, against predictions, pulled it off, after a campaign more notable for his attacks on his opponent than his policies. He denounced Voorhis as "a front for un-American elements". It was a phrase that carried an unfortunate overtone in view of what was soon to be done in the name of eradicating "un-American elements".

So, almost straight from war service, Nixon entered the House of Representatives. He was young (33) and — a point that was to bring his own problems before long — he was not a rich man.

He was active from the outset on a subcommittee drafting the Taft-Hartley legislation, imposing restrictions on unions and strikes. This did not help his future relations with organised labour. His rapid rise to prominence really arose, however, from his membership of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, partner to the more famous Senate investigating committee where the egregious Senator Joe McCarthy was to make his mark.

The House Committee heard evidence from a self-confessed Communist, Whittaker Chambers, about the range of people who had been his comrades in Washington in the 1930s. Among the people he mentioned was Alger Hiss, who promptly demanded to be allowed to clear his name. Hiss was a distinguished diplomat who had held a key position under Roosevelt, and had recently been appointed to the impeccably respectable post of president of the Carnegie Foundation. By setting his sights on Hiss, Nixon was taking on the liberal establishment — which never forgave him.

But Nixon, with the instincts of a sharp lawyer, sensed that Hiss was lying; he was simply, Nixon wrote later, "much too smooth". Nixon was pilloried — accused of playing the politics of innuendo and smears. But he stuck to it and was vindicated. Although he always protested his innocence, Hiss eventually went to prison for perjury.

The Hiss case made Nixon's name and his reward was to be chosen as candidate for one of California's two Senate seats in 1950. That election, in which his unfortunate Democratic opponent was a fellow member of Congress, Helen Gahagan Douglas, was widely held to have made even the campaign against Voorhis seem like a game of pat-ball. In terms of red-baiting Nixon stopped at nothing and picked up his electoral prize in winning by a staggering margin of 680,000 votes.

Yet Nixon's reputation in California as a fierce rightwinger was not always borne out by his congressional record on Capitol Hill. If it had been, he would never have been acceptable to the liberal Republicans who secured the Republican nomination for General Eisenhower in 1952 in preference to Senator Robert Taft. Of course, presidential tickets are generally a matter of balance but it was Nixon's youth that was intended to balance Ike's age, not his political convictions. (It may also have been felt that Eisenhower's famous amiability could do with being offset by someone more aggressive.)

In any event, the Eisenhower-Nixon partnership very nearly came to grief. Once the campaign of 1952 was underway, a newspaper unearthed the story of a "secret slush fund" financed by Californian businessmen with possibly suspect motives, without which Nixon would not have been able to lead such an active political life. The pressure on him to withdraw from the race was intense, not

least from Eisenhower who spoke of his needing to prove that he was "as clean as a hound's tooth". Characteristically, Nixon decided to fight back. He took his case direct to the voters with a television broadcast which was a triumph — but which nauseated his critics with its shameless sentimentality.

Yet he calculated correctly that the ordinary American would identify with a small-town boy struggling to the top in competition with men born with silver spoons in their mouths. For instance, his wife, he told the viewers, didn't have a milk coat, that classic symbol of political corruption — "but she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat. And I always tell her that she'd look good in anything."

But, he went on, as his more sophisticated viewers cringed in front of their TV sets, he had to plead guilty to accepting one gift during the campaign. A well-wisher had sent a little cocker spaniel in a crate. His children had fallen in love with that little dog. His six-year-old, Tricia, had decided to call it Checkers, "and you know, I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say, we're going to keep it." Nixon, with some help from Checkers, had pulled it off again. It must have been a testing episode for Pat Nixon, who was in the studio throughout. It needs to be said, however, that she and their two daughters provided one of the forces for decency and stability in a stormy political life.

Nixon remained Vice-President, that notoriously unsatisfying office (once said to be not worth "a pitcher of warm spit") for the full eight years of Eisenhower's term, although there was some attempt by the President himself — who held out to him the prospect of Cabinet office — to replace him as vice-presidential candidate in the 1956 election. His slightly vulnerable position as a young man "a heartbeat from the presidency" had been highlighted when Eisenhower had a heart attack in 1955, an episode which exposed the inadequacy of the rules relating to the constitutional procedure when a President is incapacitated.

In the second term he prevailed on Ike to allow him a more active role. In 1958 he made a sensational tour of Latin America, displaying courage in the face of violent demonstrations. In the following year he visited Moscow, engaging Khrushchev in the much publicised "kitchen debate" (a reference to the exhibition stand venue in which it took place). Early in 1960 he also took a prominent part in settling a national steel strike.

He was now ready to bid for the presidency when Eisenhower, by law, was required to stand down. Not since 1835 had an incumbent Vice-President been selected for the top slot on the ticket, but Nixon's tight hold on Republican grassroots loyalty — the product of years spent on "the chicken and peas circuit" — now paid off. Easily deflecting an incipient challenge from the Republican Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, although he had to make some policy concessions in the so-called Treaty of Fifth Avenue, he swept to the Republican nomination at the 1960 Chicago convention. The choice for the voters that year lay between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. They were two of the toughest operators in the political business: but for many Americans it was not a choice that

filled them with enthusiasm. Kennedy won but only by 112,000 votes out of 68 million — and Nixon, in a statesmanlike decision, refused to challenge the nation's verdict, even though there was ample suspicion of ballot-rigging, particularly in Mayor Daley's Cook County.

Two years later the defeated Nixon unsuccessfully made a bid for the governorship of California. He failed to dislodge a popular Democratic incumbent (Pat Brown, the father of Jerry Brown) and at a meandering press conference afterwards seemed to signal that his political career was at an end. "Gentlemen," he finally announced, "you won't have Dick Nixon to kick around any more."

Political failure, however, was to be followed by financial success. Nixon moved to New York and set up in a highly successful law practice. He was in demand as a speaker — he was an effective Republican fundraiser — and as a newspaper columnist. He published an interim, typically introspective, biography, *The Six Crises of Richard Nixon* (1962). He took to travelling the world, winning headlines with his pronouncements on international affairs.

Thus, skilfully leaving Barry Goldwater to be annihilated by Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 presidential election, he passed the seven years after his defeat at the hands of Kennedy. They were not proud years for America. Kennedy was assassinated, the Vietnam War became a disastrous running sore at home, especially following the shooting of Martin Luther King in April 1968, there was an apparent breakdown in law and order.

As for Nixon, the end of those years saw him emerge as apparently a more mature, relaxed, self-confident figure — or, as the slogan of his image-makers of the time had it, as "the new Nixon". He recognised a need to broaden the base of his support. He claimed to represent "the forgotten people of America, the silent majority". By promising to end the Vietnam War he sought also to mend his fences with the liberal wing of the Republican Party, from which, for obvious reasons, he had long been estranged. In order to repulse a late challenge from Ronald Reagan he also wooed the Southern conservative vote; it was for this reason that he made the choice — an unfortunate one as events proved — of Governor Spiro Agnew of Maryland as his running-mate.

The 1968 contest against Hubert Humphrey was, though, a close-run thing, although not as close as 1960. Nixon won, but it was clear that he had failed to command the instinctive loyalty of any outstandingly large segment of the electorate. His first Administration was an interesting mix of the orthodox and the unorthodox, the latter including the maverick intellectual Henry Kissinger, who was to become in some ways a bigger international figure than the President himself. The mix symbolised the "new Nixon".

Unfortunately, there was still that other, darker side to his character — the suspicious, some would have said paranoid, side. It was that side which manifested itself in his choice of personal staff, almost exclusively young men who had been with him in his California campaign in 1962. Like their master, they had the small-town's resentment at the influence of the great and powerful of American society. They were not unwilling to harness the machinery of govern-

ment to destroy what they saw as the enemy. Most were in their own way corruptible and, all too soon, they were to be corrupted.

Nevertheless, the President had started out by declaring that he saw his task as one of healing the divisions and hatreds which were tearing America apart and which were so dramatically symbolised by the anti-Vietnam demonstrations on the campuses, although feelings of disillusionment went far beyond Vietnam. Part of the trouble, Nixon calculated, was that his predecessors, Kennedy and then Lyndon Johnson, had antagonised ordinary people in Main Street, USA, with their undue haste to remedy social ills: the reformers had been moving too far, too fast. This may have been true, but the reformers still had powerful allies in Congress and in the media. So what Nixon saw as healing policies sometimes merely set up new bitterness. And the seeds were sown for Nixon's conviction, not wholly without reason, that there was a conspiracy against him in the liberal establishment.

His continuing poor relations with Congress hampered him, for instance, in trying to effect a much-needed overhaul of the welfare system, even though his plans included providing substantially more funds from the federal government. He hoped he could change the face of Congress in the mid-term elections of 1970, when he unleashed Vice-President Agnew to carry out a virulent campaign against the liberals in the media. But the new Congress was not very much friendlier.

Meanwhile, he harmed himself by failure to control his tongue. After the tragedy, when panicking National Guardsmen shot and killed four students at a demonstration at Kent State University in Ohio he talked about "campus bums". Following that incident evidence began to emerge of how he had lost touch with members of his Cabinet because the young men in his private entourage were restricting access to his office.

The President's main interest and activity, however, lay in foreign affairs, where he had the extraordinary talents of Henry Kissinger to help him. In Vietnam, he was confronted in effect with a military defeat, the first in the history of the United States. The military aim was to withdraw, but there was the parallel political need to do so without a public admission which could have been disastrous to American sensibilities. Nixon gradually brought home the maximum number of American troops (about whose morale there were alarming stories) while backing the South Vietnamese to fight their own war. The US backing included bombing support, sometimes on a massive scale, which outraged the liberals at home. The war would be lost, so it was often said, not on the ground of Vietnam but on the campuses of America.

The other vital foreign policy area, where Nixon showed that he had a wise and clear head, lay in relations with the Soviet Union. Although Nixon often offended his European allies by failure to discuss his strategy with them, at least he demonstrated, by a number of European tours (the first in the second month of his presidency), that America had abandoned its preoccupation with South-East Asia. Meanwhile he gave a fair wind to the negotiations — the "Salt" talks — on limitation of strategic arms. In contrast to earlier disarmament talks, where the two sides tabled effectively non-negotiable demands, the emphasis was now to establish how each side perceived the threats presented by the other to its strategic position.

In 1971 came the greatest coup of the Nixon foreign policy. In April the normally very visible Kissinger had disappeared from view in Pakistan, ostensibly into hospital. It emerged that he had, in fact, been to Peking — the city that for years had represented, to the gut feelings of millions of Americans, the seat of so much that was evil in the world communist conspiracy.

Kissinger had arranged nothing less than a Nixon visit to China. The Russians, on hearing what their Chinese rivals were up to, invited him, too. The two visits to the communist capitals took place in May and June 1972 — which happened to be the year when Nixon would be coming up for re-election. Agreements were signed in Moscow on co-operation in space and on trade, including the supply of American wheat to the Russians. There was also an agreed halt to further deployment of ballistic missiles. More important, there was a general fostering of détente, which was to help in extracting America from Vietnam, when the North Vietnamese saw the way the thoughts of their communist allies were moving.

When the presidential election arrived in the autumn of 1972, although the fighting was still going on in Vietnam, Nixon was seen by most Americans as being a realistic man of peace. The successful extrication of the United States from Vietnam, which came soon afterwards (if in the humiliating final form of helicopters taking off from the roof of the US Embassy in Saigon), reflected credit on his political judgment and nerve, even if the original recipe for it had been supplied years earlier by a Republican senator from Vermont who publicly asked: "Why don't we just pull out and announce we have won?"

Meanwhile his standing at home represented yet another remarkable comeback. Nixon — marginally defeated in 1960 and only marginally a winner in 1968 — was re-elected in 1972 in one of the greatest landslide in presidential history, his opponent, George McGovern, carrying only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia.

Ironically, the basic strength of his position had not been appreciated by some of his backers who decided to use any device, fair or foul, to foil his enemies and get him back to the White House. As only one of many dirty tricks, agents of the sinisterly labelled CREEP — Committee to Re-elect the President — illicitly installed listening devices in Washington's Watergate Building while it was

being used by the Democratic National Committee. The burglars were caught and eventually severely sentenced by a celebrated District judge, John Sirica. But a Senate committee set up to investigate the affair scented blood. The trail led to the White House, where the decision had been taken, with Nixon's approval, to cover up all traces of the trail. The man entrusted with the cover-up was the President's Counsel, John Dean, who now realised that he was being made — the language of the Hollywood gangster movies was to become all-too-appropriate — the fall-guy, Dean named others, and in due course Nixon was obliged to get rid of his most important courtiers, John Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman, two men already hated, long before Watergate, for their arrogance.

Watched by a wide-eyed world, the story was now moving to its climax — and the various corpses seemed to be appearing on the stage as in the final scene of a Jacobean revenge tragedy. It emerged that Vice-President Agnew, as Governor of Maryland, had been involved in corrupt practices: he resigned. Then came John Mitchell, the Attorney-General: he was alleged to have granted immunity from prosecution to a notorious financial manipulator in return for a contribution to the President's election expenses and was forced to resign before being sent to jail. Further evidence of the "us against them" mentality in the White House came from stories of pressure on the Internal Revenue to hound liberal opponents of the President. Meanwhile discrepancies came to light in Nixon's own tax affairs: he agreed to pay back a quarter of a million dollars.

The substance of all this unsavoury news rendered hopeless the one seeming chance he had of retrieving the situation: by pleading presidential privilege for the tapes on which, as was now well known, every word spoken in the President's presence had been recorded. The fact that he insisted on recording everything itself hinted at a siege mentality.

The tapes were grudgingly released by stages. Their contents provided fresh grist to the liberal mill, but shocked respectable conservative opinion too, not only with the coarseness of their language but with the cynicism and ruthlessness of the tone when the President got together with his closest associates.

Eventually the Supreme Court ruled that the needs of justice overrode any presidential privilege. On August 5, 1974, Nixon conceded that a tape existed showing his personal direction of the cover-up only five days after the Watergate break-in. A few days later he announced his resignation in a TV broadcast notable for its failure to admit any wrongdoing (his only admission of shame that was to come almost three years afterwards in his marathon TV interviews with David Frost). In August 1974, however, he still faced indictment for interfering with the course of justice, a threat lifted only when his successor, Gerald Ford (who had stepped in to replace Agnew), decided on September 8 to grant him a pardon.

Ironically, the last six months of Nixon's Administration, while the world had had eyes for nothing but Watergate, had brought further foreign policy successes. Kissinger had secured an Arab-Israeli settlement. The boycott on oil deliveries to the United States had been ended. Soviet influence in the Middle East had been reduced. But as he left the White House with a defiant wave on August 9, 1974, all those achievements appeared to have gone for nothing.

At first, in exile at San Clemente, Nixon simply brooded. After his presidential pardon, which he initially resisted accepting since it implied an admission of guilt, he fell ill in October 1974 with pleuritis and very nearly died. Two years later his wife Pat suffered a stroke — reputedly as a result of reading *The Final Days* by Woodward and Bernstein in which she is portrayed as a drunken recluse. Only very gradually did Nixon himself start emerging again into the world — the first sign of his sustained effort at rehabilitation being his visit to China in 1976. Two years later he played for even higher stakes with a visit to Britain, of which the highlight was probably his address to a packed house at the Oxford Union in November 1978.

Another indication of his growing confidence was his move from California to New York in 1980, although an equal motive here was probably his wife's desire to be near her grandchildren, their younger daughter, Julie, had married Eisenhower's grandson, David, and their elder daughter, Tricia, a New York lawyer called Edward Cox. Eventually, after getting something of the cold shoulder in Manhattan, the Nixons moved from New York to New Jersey, where the ex-President took to giving dinner parties for selected influential journalists. His wife seldom appeared at these functions and her last great act of self-sacrifice was to deliver a speech at the opening of the Nixon presidential library.

Pat Nixon died of lung cancer in 1993. Her husband's main consolation continued to be foreign travel, though, ironically, his last trip to Russia earlier this year was one of his most controversial. His visits to Aleksandr Rutskoi and Vladimir Zhirinovsky caused great offence to President Yeltsin.

As a man, Nixon himself was always reserved and inward-looking. He was driven by deep inner compulsions towards power and towards self-vindication: in the pursuit of his aims he spared neither himself nor those around him. The greatest successes in his long career came when he gave his undoubted gifts free play, unencumbered by the hostility he harboured towards so many of those who set the tone of American society. The saddest aspect of the White House tapes — by no means all of which have yet been revealed — threatens to be the evidence that, within himself, he never escaped from his hidden demons.

Richard Nixon is survived by his two daughters.

A Channel tunnel freight service is promised for this summer — but how much business will it attract? **Rodney Hobson reports**

Struggle for tunnel vision

With the official opening of the Channel tunnel only two weeks away, the distribution industry can still only guess at the likely impact the Folkestone to Calais rail link will have. The £10 billion project has been beset by disputes, technical problems and delays in the supply of rolling stock.

The freight service, previously scheduled to start on March 7, is now running on a commissioning basis and will start "as close to the official opening date as possible," a spokeswoman says. The start of passenger trains will be "sometime in summer".

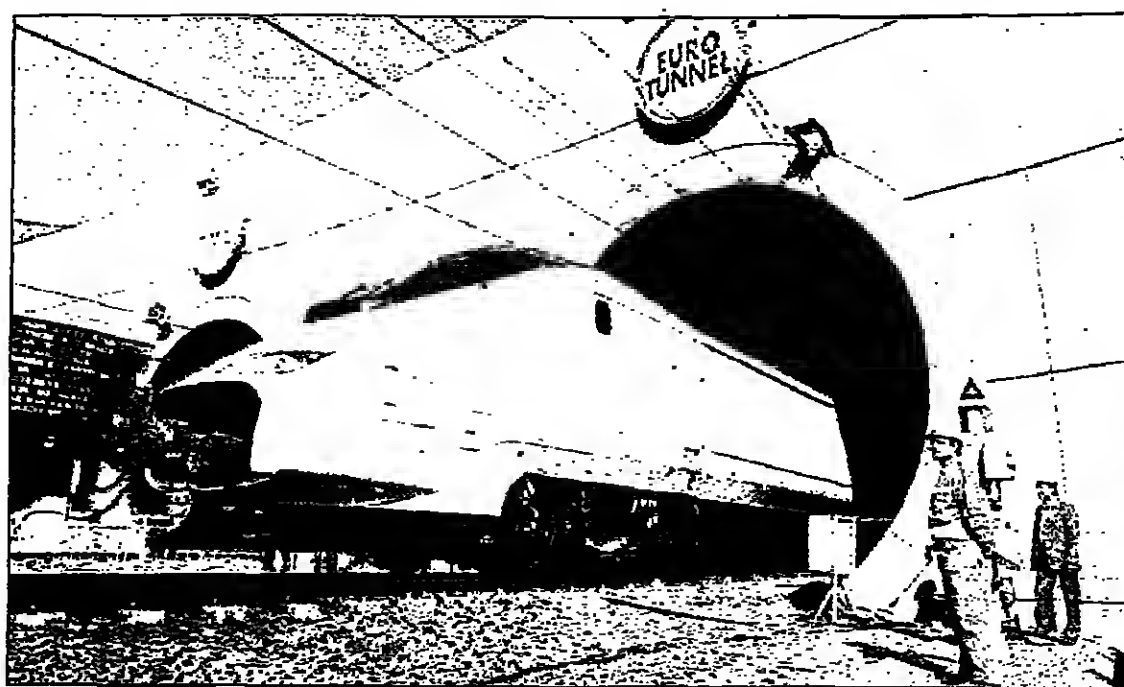
Realistically, it will be mid-autumn before Eurotunnel, the owner of the tunnel, can provide services to meet demand. Freight services are building up quickly. Delays are falling mainly on passenger services, both for foot passengers and Le Shuttle, which will carry cars through the tunnel on specially-designed trains.

Progress has been made this year. Eurotunnel has settled its claims and counterclaims with TML, the consortium of ten contractors who built the tunnel. The only major outstanding

dispute is with the railways of Britain and France for failing to upgrade tracks — and that will not stop the trains from running.

Eurotunnel now says the objective is to maximise revenue from the project in the summer of next year. This summer concentration is on marketing. "Following certification and opening, service frequency will build up towards planned levels more quickly for freight than for passengers," the company says.

Kent Enterprise Office, which promotes inward investment in the county, has no doubts that the Channel tunnel will have a dramatic effect. It has been ensuring facilities are in place to attract freighting companies from across the world. Ian Fields, from the enterprise office, said: "The fact that more than a quarter of the county's workforce is already employed in the transport and distribution industries underlines Kent's strategic importance as an import-export centre. This can only grow in importance as the Channel tunnel opens." Among the wave of strategically-placed distribution centres are the Crossways Busi-



The Channel tunnel, beset by delays, disputes and technical problems, is due to open in two weeks

ness Park at Dartford and Waterbrook-Orbitol Park at Ashford. A Channel tunnel rail link station is also proposed at Ebbsfleet. Companies already there include Fyffes, Asda, and Davies Turner, the country's largest independent haulage firm.

The Channel tunnel and the integration of Western Europe is likely to have a bigger impact on the sea freight market. Predictions are that

up to 30 per cent of European Union freight could go through the tunnel.

In a MORI survey of 102 haulage managers in January, 70 per cent saw no competitive advantage in using the tunnel and only 9 per cent said they would transfer half or more of their trade from the ferries. Eurotunnel says that since the survey it has talked to the 700 main haulage operators responsible for 90 per cent of cross-Channel traffic and negotiat-

ed rates with about 500 of them.

So far British authorities have been reluctant to sanction collaboration between rival shipping companies on the shorter cross-Channel routes. But sea crossings are not dominated by Folkestone and Calais. There are 13 port groups in the UK operating 65 individual ports. Independent researchers, Marketing International, say London is the busiest port with 10 per cent of the country's cargo traffic.

When surviving is a science

Customer demands are resulting in even better technology

Most areas of manufacturing and retailing have come under the scrutiny of cost-cutters. Now it is the turn of the supply chain to produce efficient and cost-effective operations.

Simon Turner, sales and marketing director of Calidus Distribution, which produces computer software for logistics experts, said: "In an extremely competitive environment, with no easing of the situation in sight, major players in distribution are recognising that the new capabilities offered by high technology are vital if they are to survive and grow".

Distribution IT systems are becoming more sophisticated to meet increasing demands, from ensuring retailers are supplied with goods on time to tracking goods from arrival at the warehouse to the final destination on the shop shelf. "Adopting sophisticated IT is the solution to performing with increasing efficiency and honing a more competitive edge," Mr Turner says.

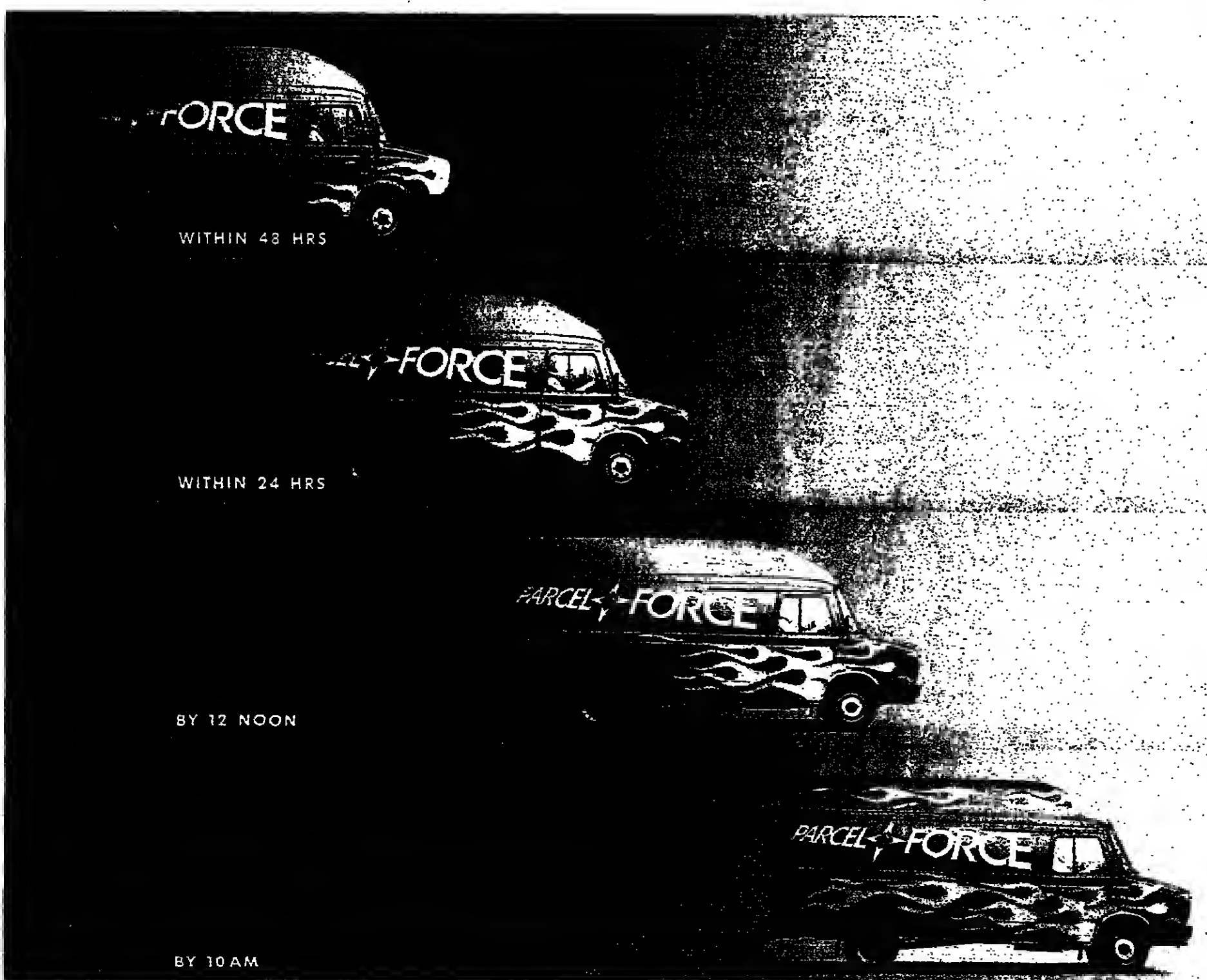
While he admits to a vested interest in talking up the importance of computer technology, Mr Turner has the support of other logistics experts. Ian Pickford, managing director of Group 4 Night-speed, said: "The issue of

accountability is becoming increasingly important to the customer. For example, where parcel tracking systems were a luxury only a few years ago, now almost every carrier has its own system. Tracking, together with electronic proof of delivery, is now a minimum requirement."

Dave Horton, systems analyst at Group 4 Night-speed, said: "Customers are increasingly demanding sophisticated technology to ensure their courier is fully accountable for deliveries. We developed a direct IT link that provides simultaneous transfer of information between a carrier's computer and its customer's. Exchanging information is usually a time-consuming and therefore costly process."

Martyn Buckland, IT project manager at Wincanton, said: "Some customers approach us to provide a full IT system but others, normally large UK or multinational concerns, have significant investments in their own information systems and have specific requirements for interfacing their systems with ours. In a few cases the customer takes complete responsibility and Wincanton operates the system for them. All scenarios require a different approach and different systems."

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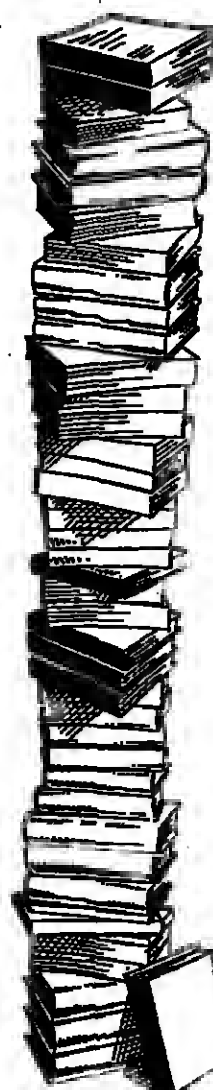
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Changing onto a fast track

The express delivery market is more competitive by the day, says **Rodney Hobson**

Privatisation is moving slowly in the express parcels business. Parcelforce is still in limbo as the outcome of a 21-month review of the Post Office is still awaited. Red Star, part of British Rail, is at last getting on track to be offered for sale later this year.

Bill Cockburn, Post Office chief executive, complains that the whole mail service has suffered from uncertainty and investment cut-backs. He says: "In the fiercely competitive parcels area, where Parcelforce operates alongside all other carriers with absolutely no special advantages, and in many sectors regarded as the market leader, its leading position is being badly threatened by the planning blight of the Government's review."

"We have been unable to make the investments that are so essential to improve efficiency and customer service and are thus in real danger of losing ground. This could threaten our ability to provide an economic nationwide parcels service."

Parcelforce handles 180 million consignments a year. In an attempt to keep business moving, it has this month launched a new European service, Euro 48, guaranteeing delivery to main towns and cities in two days and other towns in three days. Initially the service is restricted to regular contract customers and will cover Ireland and Germany. The aim, however, is to expand to all west European countries this year and all Parcelforce customers.

Red Star has at least had the luxury of announcing a restructuring that will replace its three regions and 11 areas with five newly



Bill Cockburn, Post Office chief executive — "our ability to provide an economic nationwide parcels service is threatened"

created districts. From June 1 it will concentrate on its main area of strength, delivering station-to-station or door-to-door the same day or early next day.

It will rationalise less profitable services and withdraw from non-premium services. About 500 staff, mainly in administration and management, will go.

At home and abroad, the parcels delivery market is a tough one, with rival claims of leadership and new services being announced with remarkable frequency.

Quietly challenging Parcelforce in the home delivery market is White Arrow Express, which now handles 95 million parcels a year. It began life in 1940 as GUS Transport to deliver for Great Universal Stores. Almost unnoticed, it has been signing up major commercial clients, the latest being Fine Art Developments.

Arthur Hutchinson, chairman, says: "By the 1980s it had become obvious that one of the key factors that would ensure that home shopping remained competitive against an increasingly sophisticated High Street was the ability to receive and deliver an order with a guaranteed level of service tailored to individual customer requirements. In the restructuring programme that followed every aspect of the company's distribution operations was modernised."

Interlink is another carrier that has grown rapidly, using franchising to form a national service. It was founded in 1981 by Richard Gabriel as a small, family-run enterprise in Bristol. Ten years later it was acquired by Mayne Nickless, the Australian conglomerate, for £50 million. Interlink now has 120 franchised

deposits in the UK and 27 in the Irish Republic.

Peter Gent, chief executive, says: "Most of our customers are small to medium-sized customers with a similar work ethic. Their expectations of service levels have been transformed and over the past six years our on-time delivery success rate has not dropped below 99.5 per cent." Like all the big players, Interlink has recognised the need to offer an international service.

International competition is even stiffer, especially as carriers try to dominate an Eastern European market where services exceed the needs of the sluggishly growing economies. DHL carried 1.2 million shipments into Central and Eastern Europe in 1993 and hopes to handle two million this year, with new premises recently opened at Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw and Sofia.

Roger Searle, general manager for Central Europe, says: "There is still a perception held by Western companies that trading in Central Europe is too difficult. That is not true and there are enormous commercial advantages, but there is very limited British bank representation. Surely the banks should be on the ground to assist British companies that wish to set up."

TNT Express Worldwide has also made major inroads into Eastern Europe, using Poland as a gateway. Offices have been established in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, Romania, the Baltic states and Russia. TNT predicts continued development over the next few years as Western businesses continue to invest in the former Eastern Bloc and turn to the express distribution industry to meet their needs.

When products can take wing

International air express has become an essential part of success

Once seen as a desperate fallback when goods were needed urgently, international air express has become an integral part of the logistics systems of many successful businesses.

Dr James Cooper, director of Cranfield Centre for Logistics and Transport, says: "The operators have risen to the challenge of meeting the increasing complexity of their customers' distribution and logistics needs. Key competencies developed include computer information systems, intricate understanding of customs procedures and guaranteed delivery times."

"International air express is a highly competitive industry and information about it is often tightly guarded."

Air freight can be a complicated process, with the need to consider insurance, documentation, collection from the shipper, customs clearance and final delivery to the user. All potentially cause confusion.

As a result, the providers of air express services have been able to offer a door-to-door integrated service. Carriers operate not just between major cities but also between industrial centres and business parks.

Dr Cooper says that air operators have taken market share from other forms of freight as well as developing new markets.

Overnight delivery within Europe and within North America is standard practice. So is overnight delivery between the two continents and the same speed of service is gradually being achieved in and between other parts of the world.

Air operators have been able to make great use of technology for

communications and tracking consignments. They have also been able to expand into moving heavier freight, especially where they can link with other forms of transport.

This is an important growth area, given that air freight generally is high on value and low on weight. Research by Cranfield suggests that air freight at 13.3 million tonnes last year accounted for less than 0.5 per cent of the world's freight traffic by weight but almost 30 per cent, £700 billion, by value. Cranfield says the weight carried has doubled over the past ten years and is expected to double again to 1 per cent of the total world freight market. The value of goods carried is not expected to rise as dramatically.

About 900,000 tonnes worth more than £40 billion will be carried this year by air in and out of the UK alone. Heathrow accounts for 62 per cent of freight at UK airports and Gatwick a further 15 per cent.

The increase in air express freight has come because air express companies are transporting items such as engine parts that would previously have travelled as slower air cargo. At the same time, the differences between express and cargo are becoming blurred.

Dr Cooper says: "The growth of international air express is forecast to continue into the next century, although the speed of growth will depend not only on economic and political developments but also on operators meeting the challenge of building business in an increasingly competitive industry."

RODNEY HOBSON

Warehouse keepers are often forgotten — but without them retailing would grind to a halt

Under publicised, under appreciated and under pressure, the National Association of Warehouse Keepers celebrates its 50th birthday in July, writes **Rodney Hobson**.

American troops were over here and our boys were under Eisenhower when the British Government sensed that the end of the war would follow the Allied invasion of Europe,

Spaces for improvement

started to plan for peace.

Eric Brown, the association's director general, explains: "The Ministry of Supply and the Ministry of Food wanted to talk to a committee that it could deal with after the war. Some companies got together and it

moved on from there. The committee turned into an association and we are still here today."

In those early days membership was confined to warehouse keepers outside the ports, but by 1952 many members were also operating facilities within ports and the word "inland" which appeared in the association's original title was dropped. The name will change again this year to the United Kingdom Warehousing Association.

Members of the association are companies, not individuals. There are 700 of them and between them they run more than 1,500 warehouse depots totalling 80 million sq ft all over the country.

All provide storage and many offer a transport, distribution and logistics service ranging from a simple collection and delivery service within their own warehousing operation to sophisticated services based on nationwide and international networks.

A public warehouse keeper does not trade in the goods he stores but charges for the use of the warehouse space, the handling of goods and any other services provided.

The minimum requirement for membership of the association is to be responsible for 5,000 sq ft, although very few operate in less than 10,000 sq ft. Sometimes, however, larger spaces are divided up. New members must also have been trading viably for at least six months.

Mr Brown says: "I can well understand that in some large companies the management and cost control of distribution and logistics are poor, and I believe many would benefit from contracting these services out to third-party experts whose sole business it is."

"Warehousing is changing and responding to the needs of the just-in-time and quick response philosophies. People do not want to have large amounts of goods in store any more."

As with other parts of the distribution network, warehousing has come to be dominated increasingly by the bigger players.

Of the association itself, Mr Brown says: "We are not well known outside the industry and not much appreciated but we form a critical part of the distribution chain. If it was not for the warehousing industry, retailing would come to a grinding halt."

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Our universities should widen their horizons



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Glasgow's Mayfest celebrates the art of urban revival



BUSINESS 39-44

Sears' profits take step in the right direction

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THE TIMES

MONDAY APRIL 25 1994

Ready's late goal punishes Rovers

Blackburn Rovers 1
Queens Park Rangers ... 1

By ROB HUGHES

FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT
A DRAMATIC roll of thunder over Ewood Park shortly after the final whistle seemed to denote that the championship tilted over the weekend decisively, if not yet decisively, in the direction of Manchester United.

Blackburn's inability to capitalise on the luck of a controversial refereeing decision in the first half, which led to the inevitable goal from Alan Shearer, represented points lost when there are none for them to concede.

Now, having failed to nail Queens Park Rangers and failed to deliver their 14th consecutive home victory, Blackburn can win the championship only if Manchester United's nerve fails as they seek just seven points from their remaining four games.

In truth, what we saw on Saturday and Sunday was confirmation that United are the team of greater talents. Their flair, liberated by the return of Cantona, is undeniably greater (when disciplined) than the functional.

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
1 Man Utd	36	24	10	4	74	37	82
2 Blackburn	30	24	8	7	60	33	80
3 Newcastle	30	21	8	10	75	30	71
4 Arsenal	28	18	10	5	52	28	70
5 Leeds	28	16	15	7	55	35	63
6 Sheffield Wed	28	16	13	10	73	51	61

prosaic but admirably team spirit. However, the over-reliance on Shearer was exposed yesterday. Even he, the scorer of 31 League goals in 31 games since his return from injury, cannot score if he is unserved. With Batty injured the Blackburn midfield was never able to conjure sufficient rhythm to claim any superiority.

And yet Shearer, working like a demon back and forth, coming to the centre circle to try to urge and to spark his team forward, looked for more than half the game to be a match-winner yet again. The 99th goal of his career was fuelled by controversy. Karl Ready, a Welsh under-21 centre back from Neath, had baulked Warhurst in panic.

Referee Roger Gifford appeared to signal that he read the contact as obstruction, his arm was raised, and although Shearer produced a surprise with his free kick it should not have stood had obstruction been the judgement.

Despite the visible remonstrations of QPR manager, Gerry Francis that goal could at that time have been one that turned nine months effort in

the FA Carling Premiership. The match had already been hurtful. Blackburn lost their strong running forward Newell with a recurrence of an old knee injury after only 14 minutes, and nine minutes after that Ferdinand, having already missed an opportunity to open the scoring, went down after a late lunge from Sherwood.

It appears that Sherwood's studs caught Ferdinand on the knee cap and the unlucky England striker lay prone on the turf, needing five minutes of first aid before he was carried off on a stretcher and taken to hospital, where severe bruising was diagnosed.

Yet it had been anything but a physical game. Soporific was the term, an almost unbelievable end of season essence to the match, with Sinclair and Wilson producing the major thrust down the QPR left, and Blackburn restricted to a single attempt on goal, a Wilcox corner with May volleyed left footed against the cross bar.

Chances were scorned on both sides, not least by Shearer, before controversy reopened in the final 10 minutes. Ready was involved again, this time attempting to prevent Shearer from advancing into his box.

This appeared a more solid foul than the first, but now the hand of the referee was raised, and it stayed raised until the indirect free kick, for obstruction, was cleared by the defensive wall.

Four minutes after that another foul. No question about the contact or the interpretation as Warhurst stretched out the boot that caught the ankle of Impcy. But now, with intricacy instead of direct force, QPR picked the lock of Blackburn's defence. Wilkins tapped the ball, Bardsley guided it to the right of the penalty spot, and there, his rangey stride carrying him clear of all attendance, was Ready.

accepted the chance with ease, calmly scoring the first senior goal of his life, with a calm, angled right foot finish. The last word, the last act at any rate, was Ready's. In a frantic final assault, Warhurst managed to head the ball back. Hendry drove it goalwards, and there clearing from beneath the cross bar was this young Welsh apprentice.

BLACKBURN ROVERS (4-4-2): T. Flowers — H. Berr, G. May, C. Hendry, G. Le Saun — S. Baily, T. Sherwood, D. Baily, J. Wilcox — M. Newell (sub: P. Warhurst, 14min), A. Shearer.

QUEENS PARK RANGERS (4-4-2): T. Roberts — D. Bardsley, S. Yates, K. Ready, C. Wilson — A. Impcy, I. Holloway, R. Williams, T. Sinclair — L. Ferdinand (sub: S. Butler, 29), D. White.

Referee: R. Gifford.

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Cantona's return, page 28
Endsleigh League, page 29
Results and tables, page 29

England soar above Eagles to perch on top of world



England women's rugby union team celebrates becoming world champions after beating the American Eagles yesterday. Report page 30. Photograph: Marc Aspland

Bates pounces on mistake to end title drought for Britain

JEREMY BATES yesterday became the first British tennis player to win an ATP singles title for 17 years. By defeating Joern Renzenbrink, of Germany, in the Korean Open in Seoul, he ended the sequence of failures which had lasted since Mark Cox won a 1977 tournament in Helsinki.

The triumph represents the zenith of Bates' career, just a month after he had featured in the British team which plunged to its nadir in the Davis Cup. The 31-year-old has long been accustomed to bearing the nation's meagre aspirations, particularly at Wimbledon, and he is now leading a revival as he hears his retirement.

Since the ignominious Davis Cup defeat on clay in Porto, the team members have achieved notable results. Mark Petchey defeated Michael Stich, the world No 2, in Sun City and has risen to 104th in the world, the highest ranking of his career; Tim Henman, a reserve in Portugal, has gained enough victories in the Far East to break into the top 200; and Bates, stimulated by the domestic rivalry which has long been missing, has probably earned sufficient points to qualify automatically for Wimbledon.

thereby allowing another Brit on a wild card.

"It is a bit ironic," Bates said after overcoming Renzenbrink 6-4, 6-7, 6-3 to earn a prize of £18,000. "A few months ago I was wondering if I'd ever win a tour title. I was really nervous and never settled down out there."

He was twice within two points of winning in straight sets. Having eliminated Chuck Adams, ranked 67th,

and Jan Siemerink, ranked 91st, he made the decisive break against his third supposedly superior opponent — Renzenbrink is ranked 113th — in the eighth game of the final set. The German, after being 40-15 up on his own service, double-faulted at deuce.

"The break came from nowhere," Bates said. "If you can turn that kind of a match around, it says a lot about your character and that

pleased me more than anything."

The retired doubles champion of Wimbledon in 1987 and of the Australian Open in 1991, with Jo Durie on both occasions, he dedicated his inaugural singles title to his son, Joshua, who was born three months ago.

Cox said of Bates' victory: "It is a symbol of the upturn in British tennis. There is improvement wherever you look. It is a terrific boost and it has got the monkey off our back."

Bill Knight, the newly appointed Davis Cup captain, said: "I'm absolutely delighted. It is especially encouraging for the youngsters."

British players won 20 titles during the Seventies. Since Cox's victory in Finland, players from Sweden, a comparatively tiny nation of eight million, have accumulated 180 titles.

Winning the Davis Cup relegation play-off against Romania in July, presumably with Bates as the key player, has become essential for Britain. Otherwise, the resurgence will be taking place within a nation in the third world of tennis.

Medvedev rallies in Monte Carlo, page 25



Bates displays the spoils of a long-awaited victory

Humble man who understood the game's beauty

It was both a tribute and a reflection of our times. Only six matches in the three divisions of the Endsleigh League on Saturday attracted more people than the estimated 9,000 drawn to yesterday's memorial service at Old Trafford for Sir Matt Busby, the last great man of football, as Eamon Dunphy, once a junior Manchester United player, wrote in his biography of the manager who created legendary teams and a unique club.

What made Busby, a minor son, one of the most admired men of his age was not his success, but his reaction to it. Success, he recognised early, is transitory; like a lighthouse, he shone brightest when the storm was black. Harry Gregg, the goalkeeper Busby signed from

Doncaster Rovers a few weeks before the fateful airplane stopover at snow-bound Munich, on the return journey from a European Cup match in Belgrade, was one of several former players to give appreciations yesterday. "His greatest attribute was his humility. There have been people at this club who had great gifts, but he epitomised greatness because he had the mantle of humility with which to carry it," Gregg said.

It was so appropriate, this crowd of all ages at an open-air football ground rather than some cathedral: those for whom he had created part of the fabric of their lives 40 years ago, who had celebrated triumphs with him and mourned with him the death of that astonishing and beautiful young team whom he



David Miller joins the supporters and generations of players who paid tribute to Sir Matt Busby

loved as dearly as though his own sons, and those of recent generations who knew him only as the "Grand Old Man" with those benign, understanding eyes.

Cliff Morgan, the former Welsh international rugby player, who made the address in heartfelt style, recalled those eyes, portraying the essence of the man and gazing at Morgan every morning from his portrait by Harold Riley, one of Busby's closest friends. "They tell all there is to know about the man, his indestructibility and his goodness," Morgan reflected.

It is his emotional affinity with fellow sportsmen that has distinguished Morgan's broadcasting over the years, and he had a direct line of contact with Busby through Jimmy Murphy, fervent Welshman and Busby's partner and confidant at Old Trafford, where his avuncular coaching knocked the rare talent of raw boys into competitive refinement, allowing them to retain their distant awe of Busby. "From the same coal tip," Murphy said, typically, when first introducing Morgan to Busby.

"When you met him," Mor-

gan said, speaking for everyone who had ever had the good fortune to do so, "you had the feeling you were the only one he wanted to see... he understood the beauty of the game. Of Charlton. Best and Law. Of Kanchelskis and Cantona. He was sustained by an unshakable belief in his God. What a legacy he has left in this club. He inspired in players a sense of nationhood, a pride and style — perhaps he didn't invent football, but he gave a special piece of material to football's robes of state."

The crowd was there yesterday, not because they craved the vicarious identity with fame that characterises too many of today's spectators, but because they shared Busby's love of football. "Make sure you have fun," was the only advice, in retirement,

that he ever gave to Bryan Robson, one of the club's finest recent players. "There's no other point in playing". If only others understood that.

Bobby Charlton, whose own modesty is legendary, has often recalled how he remained in awe of Busby right to the end of their respective careers. "He loved the players, and it made them play for him," he said yesterday.

There was a warmth in the reception given to Charlie Mitten, Charlton, Gregg and Denis Law that transcended sport. Here was a view of ordinary Britain, as portrayed by a page from Priestley or a canvas by Lowry. Mancunians were quietly paying tribute to someone special in our twentieth century social history.

THE TIMES



Tomorrow in *The Times* the list of the top 50 performers in our First XI cricket competition, based on the performances of the England cricketers in the West Indies. For the winner, the prize, provided by Whitaker's World Travel in association with Simply Tropic, is a trip for four to two Test matches between Australia and England this winter.

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Ukrainian powers to victory over Spaniard in Monte Carlo

Medvedev triumphs over adversity



Medvedev is a study in concentration as he prepares for a backhand return on his way to his straight-sets win in the Monte Carlo Open yesterday

FROM STUART JONES
TENNIS CORRESPONDENT
IN MONTE CARLO

RESPONSE to adversity can rarely have been so swift and comprehensive. Andrei Medvedev, who has only recently completed his recovery from knee surgery, woke up yesterday with a thumping headache and a raging temperature. By late afternoon, he was the new Monte Carlo Open champion.

The 19-year-old Ukrainian did not merely depose the holder, he belittled him. Sergei Bruguera, a 6ft 2in Spaniard, had dropped only one set on his way to the final and even that was on a tie-break against

Alberto Berasategui, the winner of last week's tournament in Nice.

Yet Bruguera, the reigning French Open champion and one of the world's leading exponents on clay, was contemptuously dismissed in three straight sets in 98 minutes. The average duration of Medvedev's five earlier matches (all of which had been the best of three sets) was two hours.

Medvedev revealed that he first had to be talked out of withdrawing by the team of doctors and then pumped with enough vitamins for him to be able to compete. By the time he walked out on court, he realised that he had nothing to

lose. "I played one of my best matches because I was so relaxed", he said. "The whole week, everything has hit the line, I've had a few net cords and I was just playing unbelievably well. I hope that it was real, that it wasn't a dream."

After an early exchange of breaks, Medvedev might indeed have been in a fantasy, especially during the second set which he described as the most perfect he has ever experienced. Then he took six successive games against a player who had beaten him even more emphatically in Paris last year.

Forcing his opponent on to the back foot with an display of ferocious hitting, he consis-

tently left him stranded with a series of exquisite drop shots. Bruguera, who had yielded only three games to Goran Ivanisevic in the quarter-final on Friday, was himself dismissed 7-5, 6-1, 6-3.

In claiming the seventh title of his career, Medvedev has established himself as a genuine contender for the French Open next month. Here he beat Jim Courier, twice the champion at Roland Garros and the runner-up last year, as well as the talented Russian, Yevgeny Kafelnikov.

Medvedev insisted such claims were premature. "That I beat him today doesn't mean anything," he said. "His ranking is higher. He has won

more titles. He has more wins. He has more consistency." Nevertheless, he has now beaten Bruguera in all five of their other matches on clay.

When he started his recovery from arthroscopic surgery, the game seemed so alien that he felt as though he had come back "from Mars". Today he is to return to Germany to continue his preparations, first in Hamburg and then at the Italian Open in Rome.

During his travels around Europe, he trusts that he will enough time to end his search for a new coach. Alex Drogopolov, his former mentor, was advised to spend more time with his family after the birth of his second

child six months ago. The Ukrainian, a natural comedian even in a foreign tongue, was asked whether he had anybody in mind. He does, but he has been requested not to reveal the name of the candidate.

Pressed for clues as to the identity, he responded with a typical retort: "She works for the Paris modelling agency."

RESULTS: Semi-finals: A Medvedev (Ukr) vs Y Courier (FRA) 7-5, 6-1, 6-3; S Bruguera (ESP) vs S Drogopolov (RUS) 6-3, 6-1, 6-3.

Final: A Medvedev (Ukr) vs S Bruguera (ESP) 7-5, 6-1, 6-3.
 □ Arantxa Sánchez Vicario, of Spain, won her second title of the year with a 6-0, 6-2 victory over the young Croat, Iva Majoli, in the final of the Spanish Open in Barcelona yesterday.

SPORT IN BRIEF

Dixon in good form for Badminton

KAREN Dixon had a successful last outing before the Badminton Horse Trials next week when she and Get Smart comfortably won the competitive pre-Badminton section of the Pedigree Chum Cornbury Park horse trials in Oxfordshire yesterday (Jenny MacArthur writes).

Dixon, who also won section 1 on The Snares, had a near-perfect round over the inviting cross-country course on her 14-year-old horse — who attempts his sixth Badminton — to finish on 41 points.

Mandy Stubbe, of Holland, riding King's Jester, another of the sport's veterans, was runner-up — six points behind Dixon — after a bold, attacking round which belied the horse's 16 years. Blyth Tait, the world champion from New Zealand, came third on Team Toggi's Tempo. Australia's Olympic champion, Matt Ryan, had to withdraw his Olympic gold medal winning horse, Kibah Tie Toc, after bruising his shoulder badly on another horse.

Ernie Taylor, the challenger committee chairman, said: "The racing schedule has gone through many generations of changes, but I believe we have finally come up with a schedule that makes the competitors, spectators and television audience happy."

The extended series will give the event greater television exposure, the America's Cup 1995 president, Chuck Nichols, said. "This new format extends the actual America's Cup match into two weekends. It should be good for spectators and competitors alike."

Longer racing series

YACHTING: The America's Cup finals starting on May 6, 1995, will be a best-of-nine affair, the longest championship format used in the event's 143-year history. Except for the unusual 1988 New Zealand challenge against the United States, the finals have been best of seven since 1930. Only once, when Australia 11 beat US defender Liberty, has the series gone the distance.

Ernie Taylor, the challenger committee chairman, said: "The racing schedule has gone through many generations of changes, but I believe we have finally come up with a schedule that makes the competitors, spectators and television audience happy."

The extended series will give the event greater television exposure, the America's Cup 1995 president, Chuck Nichols, said. "This new format extends the actual America's Cup match into two weekends. It should be good for spectators and competitors alike."

Third win for Walsham

CYCLING: Mark Walsham repeated his victory of last year in the 111-mile Tour of the Marshes yesterday at New Romney, outstripping four other professionals to the line. The race had been dominated in the first half by amateurs, Frank Holmes and Jim Jones, until they were caught after sharing the lead for 46 miles. It was Walsham's third win on the course. Simeon Hempall, Walsham's Choice teammate, retained his overall lead in the Premier Calendar competition, finishing sixth, 12 seconds behind Walsham's winning time of 4hr 21min 41sec.

World title for Woodley

BOWLS: Jan Woodley, the Scottish champion, surprised even herself when she defeated Mary Price, the 1991 world indoor title-holder, by 5-7, 7-1, 7-5, 5-7, 7-5 in the final of the Churchill Insurance women's world indoor singles championship at Cumbernauld yesterday. She has never played for Scotland but her lack of international experience proved no handicap. Russell Morgan, who defeated David Bryant in the 1993 English singles final, won the English Players' Association championship at Wellingborough yesterday, beating Mel Biggs in the final.

Cup start delayed

POLO: The medium-goal season was scheduled to begin the weekend with the opening rounds of the tournament for the Cowdray Park club's Tyro Cup. But, as only three entries are now registered for that contest, the semi-final will be played on Saturday with the final on Sunday. Yesterday's start of the season was marked instead by an exhibition match, on the club's new lawns number three ground, between two 15 handicap quartets, Lord Cowdray's home team and the honourable Lucas White's Los Indios, who won, 11-3. The ponies looked fit and well muscled for the time of year.

Szalay takes title

FENCING: Giongyi Szalay, of Hungary, took the Ipswich Cup women's epee title at the Northgate sports centre, Ipswich, yesterday, snatching a 15-10 victory from Katja Nass, of Germany, who leads the World Cup rankings. Szalay previously won the event in 1992 and 1991. Szalay fenced well from a defensive stance and drew ahead with a series of counter-attacks to stop the more energetic Nass. Carol Greenway, the British champion, finished fifteenth after knocking out Claudia Bokel, the German No 6, and Judith Kaiser, also of Germany.

Thomas nudged out

GYMNASTICS: Neil Thomas, of Liverpool, won the silver medal in the floor exercise at the world championships in Brisbane on Saturday. Thomas, 26, had the gold medal snatched from him by Vitaly Scherbo, of Belarus, who triumphed with the final performance of the competition. Scherbo scored 9.75 points and Thomas 9.687, for joint second place with Ioannis Melissandis, of Greece, the European junior champion. Thomas was also runner-up in the championships last year. Scherbo, 22, won six gold medals at the Barcelona Olympics.

Sticky solution reached

TABLE TENNIS: The English Open next January has almost certainly been saved by a decision of the English Table Tennis Association on Saturday to lift its ban on glues in time for Britain's premier event. However, leading European players will not compete in this weekend's English Junior Open which will take place under the ban on toxic adhesives. England looks likely to remain isolated on the glue issue at least until the Atlanta Olympics with our leading players having to compete here under rules which create slower equipment than that used by foreign players.

WORD-WATCHING

Answers from page 44

ICONIAN (c) Of or pertaining to Iconium (the modern Konya), a town in southern Asia Minor where St Paul preached, or to the church established there (Acts xiii, 3, xiv, 1-7). "There were strife and wrangling and jealousy between the Antiochian Church and the Iconian Church about precedence and comparative dignity."

MAVRONE (a) An exclamation of sorrow, Anglicised form of the Irish *maíon*, used to express pain and grief. James Joyce, *Ulysses*, 1922: "He wailed: — And we to be there, mavourne, and you to be unbeknownst."

BANAGHER (a) In the phrase *to beat (or bang) Banagher*, to surpass everything, especially applied to one who tells wonderful but unimpressive stories, a toponym from the name of a town in Ireland, which is said to have become proverbial as a "rotten borough": "You beat Banagher, Pat," said Willie, admiringly, "and Banagher beat the Devil!"

FRAUENDIENT (b) Exaggerated chivalry towards women, the title of a work by U. von Lichtenstein (d. circa 1275), from the German *frauen* plural of *frau* a woman + *dient* service: "Chaucer is emphasising that parody, or imitation, or rivalry of the Christian religion which was inherent in traditional *Frauentendenz*."

SOLUTION TO WINNING CHESS MOVE
1 ... Rf1+2 Kd1 Nxb2+3 Kf2 Ng4+ wins the queen.

Tense victory rouses Doherty

By PHIL YATES

KEN Doherty, who cleared an enormous hurdle late on Saturday night, firmly believes that he could become the first player from the Republic of Ireland to win the Embassy world snooker championship.

A prerequisite for success at the Crucible Theatre is the ability to handle pressure unequalled at any other tournament. Doherty did that during his 13-11 victory over Alan McManus.

"I can't have a more difficult match than that. To come through it like I did has given me a bundle of confidence," Doherty, the world No 11, said. "The championship always had an open look about it and I know I have the capabilities to go all the way."

Doherty, who beat McManus in the final of the Regal Welsh Open and Scottish Masters last year, looked certain to avenge three defeats by the consistent Scot since February when four black-ball frame wins helped him establish a 6-2 lead. However,

McManus recovered to trail 9-7 entering the concluding session and breaks of 48, 83, 51 and 102 after the re-start allowed him to draw to 10-10.

Runs of 69 and 86 earned Doherty a 12-10 lead. McManus won the next frame convincingly and had a gilded opportunity to force a decider. But with all the balls invitingly placed, McManus missed the penultimate red to a baulk pocket.

Doherty had his chance on the green. After nervously getting back up off the shot three times, the 24-year-old Dubliner finally settled. He potted the green at pace to a middle pocket, applied soft screw to attain position on the brown and after he added the blue, McManus conceded.

"I'm proud because I coped with the tension; that gives players a lot of satisfaction," said Doherty, the first Republic of Ireland entrant to qualify for the world championship quarter-finals since Patsy Fagan in 1978.

It was an acutely disappointing end to a lucrative

season for McManus, a semi-finalist at The Crucible for the past two years, who arrived in Sheffield on top of this season's prize-money list, with £251,850.

McManus collected £15,000 for reaching the last 16 and could pocket a further £15,400 if the 143 total clearance he compiled during a 10-7 first-round win over Fergal O'Brien stands as the event's highest break.

The identity of Doherty's



White: errors

quarter-final opponent was clouded in more uncertainty than seemed likely, when Jimmy White's 6-2 overnight lead against Neal Foulds was erased yesterday. Foulds dominated the middle session of three and will resume today at 8-8.

White, fluent and self-assured in the early exchanges as he compiled breaks of 54, 41, 55, 69 and 66, committed a string of errors yesterday. Foulds, beaten 13-12 by White at the corresponding stage of the 1991 world championship, was far more solid.

The possibility of another surprising result developed across the arena as Brian Morgan, a former world junior champion from South Benfleet, Essex, built a 6-2 first-session lead over James Wattana. Morgan, who defeated Martin Clark, the No 12 seed, 10-9 in the previous round, made breaks of 134, 82, 70 and 57.

RESULTS: Second round: N Doherty (Ire) vs T Griffin (Wales) 13-11; K Doherty (Ire) vs A McManus (SCO) 13-11. Latest positions: J White (Eng) leads with 11 Foulds (Eng) 8-8, S Doherty (Eng) leads S James Wattana (Ire) 5-2, S Morgan (Eng) leads J Wattana (Ire) 5-2.

Results supplied by BT

Yamaha reopens lead over Intrum

FROM BARRY PICKTHALL
IN FORT LAUDERDALE

ROSS Field and his Yamaha crew looked set to pick up their first Heineken leg trophy last night as they closed on Fort Lauderdale to finish the fifth stage of the Whitbread Round the World Yacht Race.

Their New Zealand 60-footer survived calm and the threat of water spouts as they reopened a 130-mile margin over Intrum Justitia, their second-placed class rival, the European entry skippered by Lawrie Smith.

At one point on Saturday, Smith and his crew narrowed the gap to 97 miles before falling into calms themselves. Now, barring further drops in the wind overnight there is a ten-hour deficit in the overall positions which will test all of Smith's skill and guile if he is the claim victory during the dash back to Southampton starting on May 21.

Intrum's challenge ran out of steam off Eleuthera before crossing through the North West Providence channel 200

miles east of the finish. After averaging more than ten knots — double Yamaha's speed — Smith and his crew saw their speed drop just as dramatically.

Pierre Fehlmann's leading Maxi, *Merit Cup*, was also held which allowed Grant Dalton's chasing ketch, *New Zealand Endeavour*, to close to within 12 miles. Eric Tabary's French entry, *La Poste*, ran into even worse luck and for a time yesterday was barely making any headway some 200 miles further astern.

Halvard Mabire, *La Poste's* navigator, complained: "We have a personal hole in the wind which has followed us all night." *La Poste* covered only nine miles during one three-hour period yesterday to the 22 against *Endeavour*.

The only good news for Smith was that the yacht's chasing Intrum Justitia were faring just as badly. Javier de la Gandara's third-place 60-footer, *Galicia 93 Pascanova*, was trailing 38 minutes astern and sailing half a knot slower, while Brad Butterworth and his *Winston* crew were fully engaged in a separate

battle for fourth place against Guido Maisto's Italian entry, *Brooksfield*. Earlier yesterday, *Winston* had trailed *Brooksfield* by one mile, but by 2pm they had gained a six-mile advantage.

The two yachts making the most gains yesterday were Matt Humphries' British entry, *Dolphin 3 Youth Challenge*, and Tokio, skippered by Chris Dickson, of New Zealand. Both crews lost time when damage forced them to pull into Brazilian ports for repairs, but *Dolphin*, which suffered a split hull, was averaging more than 13 knots yesterday to maintain a 600-mile lead over Dickson's trailing entry. These two tail-enders are expected to reach Fort Lauderdale by the weekend.

POSITIONS at 14.00 GMT yesterday, with miles to Fort Lauderdale: Whitbread 60 class: 1. Yamaha (J. Field, NZ) 44; 2. Intrum Justitia (J. Smith, Eur) 174; 3. Galicia 93 Pascanova (J. de la Gandara, Sp) 212; 4. Winston (G. Maisto, US) 223; 5. Brooksfield (G. Maisto, NZ) 239; 6. Harrellson (D. Riley, US) 418; 7. Heineken Subsidary (E. Butler, US) 524; 8. Oceana (A. Wirtz, US) 582; 9. Dolphin 3 Youth Challenge (M. Humphries, GB) 1,468; 10. Tokio (C. Dickson, NZ) 2,057. Maxi class: 1. Merit Cup (P. Fehlmann, Swi) 118; 2. New Zealand Endeavour (G. Dalton, NZ) 132; 3. La Poste (H. Mabire, Fr) 336; 4. Uruguay Natural (G. Viret, US) 750.

THE TIMES

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Tottenham players show spirit needed in tight corner

COVENTRY CITY (4-4-2) S Ogrizovic — B
Barrows, P Atherton, O Rennie, S Morgan — W
Baland, S Flynn, L Jenkinson (Sub A Pickering 68).
J Darby — S Flynn, P Ndlovu
Referee: R Dikes

BELLES (4-4-2): T Davidson, M Lowe, L' son, C Woodhead, J Broadhurst, J Good-
lard (sub: A Liedeman, 35min; sub: J.
J. Murray, K Walker, G Borman,
UNITED (1-3-4-2): J Thomas, C Taylor, S
Coughlin, J McQuiggan, A Gellimore, C
O Blaker (sub: O Holland, 82), K Burke, M

Happily, however, there were few Wimbledon-style verbals. As Hemley confirmed: "There was no abuse. It was very different from refereeing Southend against Sunderland on Saturday. There was more chat-up than back-chat."

DONCASTER BELLES (4-4-2): T Davidson, M Lowe, L Ryde, M Jackson, C Woodhead, J Broadhurst, J Goodwin, S Burt, D Houghton; G Coulard (capt); A Liessemann, 3rdm; cut: J Chapman, 68t; J Murray, K Walker, G Bornman.

KNOXVILLE UNITED (1-3-4-2): J Thomas, C Taylor, S Hayward, O Cunningham, J McQuinnan, A Gallimore, C Gore, K Davis, O Baker (cut) v Holland, 82t, K Burke, M Harper

Crystal Palace close on first division title

Clark builds on firm foundation as Forest revive

BY OUR SPORTS STAFF

QUESTIONS, recriminations, blame and a long, perfunctory goodbye. It was not the way to end an era in any circumstances, but it was especially sad at the City Ground. Last season's farewell to Brian Clough, wrapped up as it was in relegation, was a depressing end to his reign at Nottingham Forest, as pathetic as it was inappropriate for a man who had brought so many glories to what was previously an unassuming club in the east Midlands.

The revival is testament to two men — Clough, for the foundations he laid down have proved more solid than many suspected, and Frank Clough, the manager who has come in to replace him. Once a pupil as a Forest player, Clark is now the master and the team he inherited, with several crucial additions, is responding.

Forest enjoyed the perfect start yesterday. The game was just eight minutes old when

Yet, 12 months on, the tears and tabloid newspaper headlines are fast being forgotten. It may have seemed Forest were in terminal decline, it may have appeared the club that Brian built was falling down in more ways than one, but Forest are thriving, booming even. On the field and off, they are heading straight back to where they belong, among the elite. The FA Carling Premiership should be delighted.

Yesterday's 2-1 defeat of West Bromwich Albion at the City Ground lifted them three points closer to promotion just 12 months after Clough's wake got under way in earnest. It may have been a patchy display, disfigured by an obvious attack of promotion jitters, but goals from Steve Stone and Colin Cooper, long before Bob Taylor notched a consolation effort for West Bromwich, put six points between Forest and the chasing pack. They now need to win just two of their remaining four games for an automatic return to the top flight.

the Albion defence paid too much attention to Collymore as he attempted to collect a Woan pass and left Stone free to score when the ball bounced to him.

Albion, though, driven by relegation fears of their own, fought hard to get back on level terms and only when Cooper met Woan's 66th-minute corner with a fierce header to make it 2-0 did Forest relax a little. Taylor set up a dramatic finish, but it was too late.

Nevertheless, win, lose or draw, the first division championship was out of Forest's reach even before the kick-off. Crystal Palace made a more impressive start to the season, have maintained their form in the best traditions of marathon winners — football seasons being marathons rather than sprints for all — and Saturday's 1-0 defeat of Barnsley at Selhurst Park put them within touching distance of the title. Anything other than a win for Forest yesterday would have given them the championship this weekend, but though Young did his bit, scoring the seventeenth minute goal that earned the three points, it was not to be.

Peterborough were duly relegated after a 5-1 thumping at Charlton, but hope spring eternal for Oxford and, especially, Birmingham, who won 2-0 at Portsmouth. Perhaps, after all, they will be playing Reading in the first division next season, since Reading are more than likely to win promotion from the second division. Their 4-0 win at Blackpool put them nine points clear of those squabbling for second place — Plymouth Argyle, Port Vale and Stockport County.

Congratulations to Shrewsbury Town and Chester City, promoted on Saturday from the third division after wins against Northampton Town and Hereford United respectively; congratulations too to Exeter City, who avoided — if only for the time being — passing them in the opposite direction by beating Leyton Orient at St James' Park.



Lee, the Forest forward, beats Raven in the air at the City Ground yesterday

Rangers' aura an influence referees have to disregard


ON SATURDAY, Ivan Golac attempted to blow the whistle on a referee. "All over the world he would have been a penalty," he said. "At Brno, it wasn't." The two bold and, given the Scottish Football Association's allergy to free speech, probably costly words. The Dundee United manager was too frustrated to be coy.

With his team 1-0 ahead, Christian Dailly had been hauled down inside the area, but Jim McCuskey, the referee, failed to award a spot-kick. A relieved Rangers then rallied to win 2-1 with goals from Gordon Durrie, Walter Smith, their manager, and a free-kick. *It matched his counterpart's rage when Golac's words were relayed to him.*

So far as he was concerned, this was niggling

which distracted attention from a rumbustious comeback. Yet the views expressed by Golac, though rarely placed on the record, are commonplace. You could build your own skeleton from the numerous bones of contention provided by Rangers' recent matches. Saturday saw the third controversial game in succession.

KEVIN McCARRA



Scottish

Scottish commentary

In the Tannets Scottish Cup semi-final replay, a floundering Rangers equaled against a Kilmarnock with a debatable goal. The referee was obviously biased did not demonstrate that Mark Hateley's header had crossed the line, but he did suggest that he was outside it.

On the previous weekend, the referee, Ken Clark, and his linesman were among the few observers who missed Duncan Fergusson netting Jack McStay, of North Ayr.

The eligibility of officials by-day. There is always news of a best-selling strip or a short-stopping video.

On Saturday, it emerged that Rangers will have a waiting-list for season tickets in future even though there are 33,000 of them.

The club's air of vibrancy sweeps people along. References rarely aired the course of Scottish football history, but of late an air of cynicism has developed.

Major articles -

It is pernicious that Dundee United will go into the Scottish Cup final with Rangers wondering if the match officials will have any effect on the outcome. Referees need to be aware of all

Of late, he has argued that Rangers are being denied the acclaim which their durability merits. One sees his point. On Saturday, Rangers demonstrated that they, more than any other premier division team, can hold up their end when they really need to. No one can argue that Rangers, by and large, need any help from referees.

They have the best players in Scotland and fully deserve their room-full of trophies. The real fear must be that their domination has

KEVIN
McCARRA



Scottish commentary

Swansea celebrate as Huddersfield pay penalty

Huddersfield Town.....1
Swansea City1
(aet; 1-1 after 90 min)
(Swansea win 3-1 on penalties)

BY KEITH PIRKE

THE days when the knock-out competition for teams from the bottom two divisions in England was the subject of ill-disguised derision disappeared six years ago, when 80,000 spectators filled Wembley to see Wolverhampton Wanderers defeat Burnley. The Mickey Mouse Cup. Now try telling Swansea City.

Yesterday, on a sunny colourful afternoon at the national stadium they defeated Huddersfield Town 3-1 in a penalty shoot-out to lay their hands on the Autoglass Trophy and

swell their coffers by the not inconsiderable amount of around £250,000. If the FA Cup final in three weeks time is as compelling, the country is in for a treat.

Swansea, on their first visit to Huddersfield, struck gold when two of Huddersfield's first three efforts from the spot struck the woodwork and, when Cowan's kick—which only just had the pace to reach Freestone in goal—was comfortably saved, their triumph was assured. Like Cardiff City, who took the FA Cup out of England in 1927, their journey back to Wales was a happy one, particularly with Swansea's rugby union counterparts having secured the Heineken League title on Saturday.

This competition, which started life as the Associate Members' Cup ten years ago, has since undergone four

changes of identity and will have a fresh sponsor next year. Yesterday, two mid-table second division teams with a combined average attendance of around 9,000 attracted more than five times that number along the M4 and down the M1. They were not to be disappointed.

Swansea, fielding two wingers and knocking the ball around with some panache, took an eighth-minute lead and went on to dominate the first half, but were forced into ever more desperate defence in the second when Huddersfield, the pre-match favourites, stepped up several gears. A goal on the hour forced extra time, when tired legs helped increase the excitement and, with the goalkeepers in excellent form, it was no surprise that penalties were needed to separate the sides.

"I was getting older by the minute, but this was a day for the club, not the manager," Frank Burrows, the Swansea manager, said. A League Cup winner with Swindon Town in 1969, Burrows added: "We have seen people today who have not supported the club for years. They have come here and had an enjoyable day out. They mean more to Swansea than winning the game."

Even Neil Warnock, his opposite number, was not about to let defeat spoil Huddersfield's day. "If it hadn't been for this competition, we would have been relegated," he said. "It has enabled us to sign a couple of players, and to bring 28,000 people here is quite remarkable. It is the biggest club I have been with and we will build on this."

Swansea's initial fluency owed

much to the intelligent promptings of Cornforth, their captain, and their willingness of both full backs to join the attack, yet they took the lead via Route One, McFarlane chesting down Freestone's long clearances before rounding Francis and defying a narrowing angle to score.

Huddersfield took some holding after the break, both before Logan had headed an emphatic equaliser from Starbuck's corner and afterwards. Yet had Bowen not hit the post with almost the last kick of normal time, Swansea's celebrations would not have been delayed.

HUDERSFIELD TOWN (4-4-2): S Francis — C Bly
G Mitchell, P Scully, T Cowan — S Beldry, F
Robinson, R Logan, D Bullock (sub: I Dunn, 45min) —
A Booth, P Starbuck.

SWANSEA CITY (4-3-3): R Freestone — S Jenkins
M Bashem, M Harris, M Clode (sub: J Ford, 69min) — C
Peacock, J Comforth, K Ampadu — J Bowen (sub: S
Thomas, 82), A McEnaney, J Morley.

WEEKEND FOOTBALL RESULTS AND TABLES

[illegible]

Figures to be published tomorrow are expected to show a further drop in the numbers of full-boarding pupils in the country's independent schools. David Tytler reports on how two different schools are tackling the problem

School survival on the boarder lines

WOODBRIDGE

Building the bridge for sixth formers

AS BOARDING numbers fall, many schools are reluctantly deciding to close their boarding houses, particularly establishments which are predominantly day schools.

Woodbridge School, in Suffolk, made this decision two years ago. Boarding was to end in July next year, but then along came a new head, Stephen Cole, who had been head of boarding at Merchant Taylors' school in Northwood. One of his first acts at Woodbridge was to review the decision.

He says that while there could be no going back to full traditional boarding, he has persuaded the governors to keep a coeducational sixth-form boarding house for 24 students. The scheme will be viable if there are initially only 20 boarding pupils among the 500 at the school. Day fees are £5,000 a year, with boarding at £8,200. There are now only 36 boarders, 15 of them girls. The scheme will enable them all to complete their sixth-form education at Woodbridge.

In the term before Mr Cole's arrival, senior school staff had discussed ways of safeguarding the remaining boarders' education. Mr Cole's solution was a sixth-form boarding house aimed at providing a bridge into university.

He says: "At that age, there is less of a need to see parents every evening, and boarding for some pupils will improve the quality of their education. Sometimes, family life can get a bit tense and boarding will be better for some pupils. I am sure that, in some cases, boarding improves the quality of family life."

"When I came here, I reviewed boarding as I reviewed many other aspects of the school. There was no point in reversing the decision to stop full boarding, but this is a positive step to provide something that is different for pupils who will benefit from boarding during what



Woodbridge headmaster Stephen Cole with pupils: boarding adds "immeasurably" to the style of a school and can relieve family stress

can be a fairly stressful time in the sixth form. They will benefit from the organisation provided by boarding in what, we hope, will become more of a hall of residence.

"I believe that having boarding in a school adds immeasurably to the style of the school, but I do believe there is a need for this kind of service that will be beneficial to pupils who will be able to sample residential life before going on to university."

The decision to end boarding caused considerable disruption to the pupils, says 16-year-old James Cleland-Smith. "Everybody in my year left, as they wanted to be in other schools to complete their GCSE courses, but I wanted to stay here," he says. "My parents were quite angry as they felt they had been messed around."

"I had just got used to the school and then we were told boarding was going to close. I wanted to stay at the school and not go to a sixth

form elsewhere, so my parents were thinking either of renting or buying a house in Woodbridge. We were all pleased when the new head said that boarding was going to continue."

Karen and Caroline Dorward, 16-year-old twins, are also relieved that they can stay at Woodbridge, although both had found sixth-form places at another school. Caroline says: "It was a bit of a shock when we were told that boarding was going to end. I had only been here a year, and we had been told that boarding was going to carry on. It was not very nice as we had come here for security. I am quite pleased now as I did not want to change schools."

There has been a long tradition of boarding at Woodbridge, which was founded in 1577. The school has been fully coeducational for 20 years and the return to boarding is seen as another development in the school's history.

BRAMCOTE

Gates open slowly for schoolgirls

SCHOOLS that were founded as part of the Victorian dream face a hard task surviving in the modern world. Some have had either to close or rethink their philosophy, while others have used all the tricks in the marketing trade.

Founded in 1933, Bramcote School in Scarborough is one of the few remaining all-boys boarding prep schools in Britain. Only a handful of its 95 pupils are day boys, and they all eventually become boarders. Pupils go on to all the major independent schools in the country, but John Walker, the

headmaster, knows that schools have to change in order to survive. He says: "The most extraordinary thing is that Bramcote still exists as it does today — a seaside full-boarding prep school. Seaside schools in fashionable Victorian resorts have long since lost their attraction, and boarding schools in general are under great pressure."

In a debate which lasted 18 months, the governors considered every option. They rejected ideas for more day boys and weekly boarding, or even for moving the school. Finally, they decided to admit girls from September 1996, with the numbers rising until they comprise about one third of a planned total of 140 pupils.

The decision to admit girls is part of a ten-year development plan, which includes a new multi-purpose sports hall and improved boarding, teaching, and staff accommodation facilities. Mr Walker says: "The plan is designed to be

flexible, catering for unforeseen circumstances and new ideas. We are a full boarding school and I believe we do it very well, so our intention is to build on our strengths. Obviously, numbers are a concern for all boarding schools, but there is still a market. Our books for the next few years look promising, but we cannot afford to stand still. We not only have to offer the very best we can to our present parents and boys, we have to be an attractive proposition to prospective parents."

"This means almost second guessing what future parents will be looking for in private education. We have examined the trends in other schools and have listened to parents. Our market is changing. Our conclusion has been that the future, especially at the prep school age, is in coeducation."

Bramcote is not rushing into the change, although many potential parents are clearly in favour of coeducation. Mr Walker says: "We have had an increasing number of parents and prospective parents say 'if only you took girls as well' or 'if you took girls we would have sent our son'. We are not answering that problem immediately because the introduction of girls must be planned properly."

"I am also sure that there are some present parents who will be doubtful about the prospect and we do not wish to force through such a change of policy without due warning. But many parents are looking for greater convenience in boarding education. We encourage parental visits and it is increasingly difficult for parents having to drive in two or three different directions."

Nick Jopling, son of the Conservative MP and former Minister of Agriculture Michael Jopling, is an old boy and now a governor at Bramcote. He has two children, Charlotte, four and Caspar, two. He thinks it likely that brother and sister will enter Bramcote at the same time.

He says: "I have not yet convinced my wife, as modern mums are not over-excited at the idea of girls boarding as early as boys. Charlotte may come when she is ten and Caspar is eight. Coeducation is the right thing for children at this age as it allows brothers and sisters to be together."

FALLING NUMBERS

Survey shows a new dip

THE STEADY trickle of news about mergers, closures and sell-offs is a testament to the recession's continuing impact on boarding schools.

Figures from the Independent Schools Information Service (Istis) last year showed that boarding schools across the country suffered a 6 per cent fall in pupil numbers in 1992, the steepest decline since records began a decade before. The exodus of almost 7,000 pupils came on top of a 10 per cent fall in rolls over the previous three years. Statistics to be released tomorrow will show a further drop in boarders, with numbers hovering over the psychologically important 100,000 mark.

Boarding schools' popularity has been declining steadily for 20 years. Increasing numbers of parents are reluctant to send their children away. But the trend has been accelerated by recession, with more families struggling to pay annual fees of up to £12,000. Preparatory schools have borne the brunt.

Boarding schools are acutely aware of the dangers of pricing themselves out of the market with fee increases running well ahead of inflation. But their scope to keep increases down is limited as up to 90 per cent of costs come from teachers' salaries.

However, schools are proving quick to adapt. One bright spot in the last Istis census was a 4 per cent rise in pupils from abroad as schools exploited their high reputations with foreigners.

BEN PRESTON

UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

University of Nottingham

Faculty of Medicine

Action Research Chair of Biomaterials

Applications are invited from biomedical scientists with an interest in biomaterials research in orthopaedics for the Action Research Chair of Biomaterials. The Chair has been created by an endowment from Action Research following the retirement of Professor R G Burwell from the Chair of Human Morphology and Experimental Orthopaedics which was established in 1974.

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Further details and application forms, returnable not later than 31 May 1994, from the Personnel Office, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham NG7 2RD. Tel: (0602) 515781. Ref. M1785.



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EDUCATION

Facing up to the university challenge

John Redwood urges Britain's great colleges to turn their minds to the big issues and to widen their horizons



Redwood: let serendipity thrive

Universities should never lose sight of Disraeli's dictum that each should be "a place of light, liberty and learning". While universities have recently been given millions of pounds to expand and renovate, the language and thought about modern education has become mean and miserably.

Too much talk of money has proved a barrier to debate about their importance and wider purpose — just as too much talk about management has left parts of the public sector, newly freed from the smoke-filled rooms of the 1970s, inured in the jargon-filled rooms of the 1990s.

In this century, the Government has not looked for loyalty from such institutions. The more universities have come to depend on the public purse, the less they have been tempted to support the government of the day. I'm all for healthy independence in those who would lead the nation's researches and thoughts.

The inter-war generation used the universities to forge and weld a collectivist vision. The collective wisdom of Tawney, Laski, Keynes, the Hammonds, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, offered a new Jerusalem on earth. They believed justice and equality would emerge from central planning, Whitehall regulation and redistributive taxation. They argued for the working-class while enjoying maid service at the push of a bell.

In 1945, the chance of Utopia arrived. The universities had come to Whitehall. Social scientists, statisticians, economists were poured in. They thought original sin could be wiped out by a few Acts of Parliament. The sociologist joined the nuclear physicist and petrochemist in shaping the second half of our century.

The public disenchantment with some of the results ushered in the dramatic changes of the 1980s — changes, above all, in the way we view problems. Nuclear physics, which offered to the 1950s and 1960s vistas of near-limitless cheap power, worried more and more people as the years advanced. Social science that promised so much gave people nightmares of Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four*.

People came to resent the inhumanity of the 20th-century humanities, paintings that distorted nature if they tried to represent it at all, buildings that intimidated by their scale and ugliness, social studies that classified and counted, expunging all spark of individual dignity. The fear of the expert was an understandable response to the lack of warmth and personal intuition of the new thinking. Carburcles brought forward their critics. Mankind rebelled against too much scientific planning.

As the 1980s dawned, few in the universities were ready to ask the new questions or to seek a new explanation. Where, for example, was the criminologist who could explain the crime rate and tell us what to do about it? Where was the theologian who could fashion a morality that would bolster the family? Where was the historian who could foretell the collapse of communism and the discord in the east that would follow? Why were monetarist economists hounded and caricatured, when they were reasserting truths

well stated in Keynes' *General Theory* and believed by a Labour Prime Minister.

The revival of the 1980s was forced, in the main, to seek intellectual roots beyond the British universities, because they were caught in that general fatalistic management of decline, which their corporatism, shared with Whitehall, had accelerated. Thoughts came across the Atlantic, they came from think-tanks, they came from City analysts. Where the brave undergrounds of the Polish and Czechoslovak universities were distilling the solvents of Marxism, British universities were left trying to shore up the pseudo-Fabian and crypto-Keynesian thoughts of their forebears. Where Keynes would have recommended monetary firmness, his later followers placed all their faith in large deficits.

The universities of the 1970s — of which I was part — were on the whole

tues of tolerance and free enquiry.

This much was known to many who founded and built our university tradition. Energetic Welshman, led by Hugh Owen, decided Wales needed a university of its own. With no government grant and relying on voluntary contributions, the first college at Aberystwyth opened in 1872. It was not until 1893 that the University of Wales gained a charter and full recognition. The local community were proud and enthusiastic to share the prestige, the talent and the ideas that university college brought. In 1875, 70,000 people contributed to Aberystwyth's running costs. Cardiff, Bangor and Swansea followed.

Worry not I am not preparing academics for a full return to the voluntary principle. Yet nobody can enter beneath the neo-classical facade at Cardiff or the Gothic arches at Bangor or through the monumental architecture of Thomas Savin's adapted railway hotel at Aberystwyth without recognising the force, the power, the enthusiasm of education. That is the spirit I want to see reacquainted.

Buildings and the intellectual fabric need constant attention. As the numbers of those going on to college and university expand, from one in eight in 1979, to one in three by 2000, there is more need to worry about teaching techniques. The average student may need a more theatrical performance from his lecturers, more sparkle in the seminars, more attention in the tutorials to seize his interest and raise his sights.

The University of Wales in the next century will be a more democratic institution than it was in this. Its doors will be open to many more students — it will be part of the movement to mass higher education that characterises the closing years of this century.

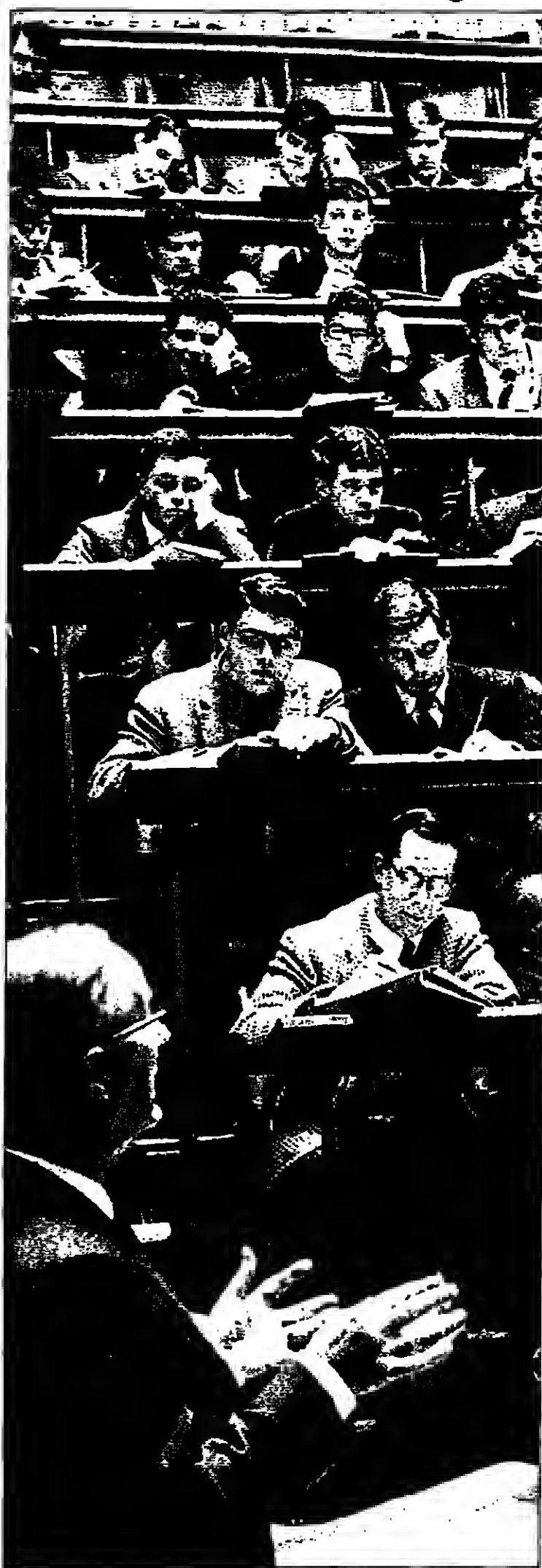
To some, academic life, like politics or religion, is a calling. It brings pleasures beyond money, allowing you to do more of the things you want to do. To others, where acquiring capital also matters, academic life should be a chapter or two in life's book, interspersed by periods of business experience. Some move on from university to run companies or to set up one of their own.

I want the university to consecrate enlightenment, to put into the intellectual firmament a constellation of talents, ideas and educated people. I do not want the universities to be supplicants, the tatterdemalions of the educational world, wearing themselves out by arguments over money and purpose.

Universities are not just part of the process of modernising Wales and raising the standards of workforce. They are not just cogs in a productive machine, required to turn a little faster and for more people. They should keep many flames alive to the spirit of enquiry, the tradition of tolerance and the pursuit of excellence.

Let serendipity thrive. Let universities turn their minds to the big issues of our generation. Let them rebuild their doors and widen their horizons. It would be good to welcome them back to a central place in our nation's story.

● The author is the Secretary of State for Wales.



A lecture in Edinburgh's medical school in 1964: can universities and colleges — like political leaders — assist favourable change?

David Walker assesses the vice-chancellors' committee

A staffer at the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals tells how, in meetings of its inner council, the Fellows of the Royal Society, who used to run things before the new universities arrived, would amuse themselves by playing competitive games of mental arithmetic. The vignette reveals something about the body that is the only collective voice from the universities that the Government regularly hears.

The CVCP's Tavistock Square headquarters often seems like a gentlemen's club. Its constitution is a mixture of democracy and oligarchy. On its budget of £2 million, it can seem vaguely amateurish, its members and staff holding to a naive pre-Thatcher belief that a quiet word in Minister's or Permanent Secretary's ear will do the trick.

That is not the whole picture, of course. Under the CVCP's aegis fall more modern-looking organisations for quality assurance, higher education statistics and — every sixth-former's rite of passage — the admissions service.

But according to Professor Martin Trow, of the University of California at Berkeley and one of the foremost students of British higher education, the measure of the CVCP is the job it has done in resisting successive incursions by the Government and its satraps in the funding councils into the very heart of university life and work. On that score, it has failed to hold the universities' corner.

The gamut of stultifying and time-consuming paper assessment exercises confirms the point, he says. That charge applies to the "old" CVCP. Perhaps the organisation is enjoying a new lease of life since the accession of the former polytechnics and colleges, which has pushed its membership to 104. The odd thing is that the new members have so far made little difference, starting with their failure to create a new university organisation. Despite huffing and puffing, the old Committee of Directors of Polytechnics was wound up and the new universities joined the CVCP en masse, minus any concessions in its organisation or culture.

The CVCP does not represent the universities in the round, only their senior management. The professoriate has no voice. The Association of University Teachers barely makes the grade either as a trade union or a professional association.

The CVCP is at best a gnat on the neck of the Government, to be swatted at will. Yet, its lobbying effort in the House of Lords has recently won amendments to the Education Bill, notably on student unions. And that is not the first university success in the upper house. According to the CVCP's Ted Nield, the Lords is "one area where we have given quite a few governments a run for their money".

The official line is that the CVCP focuses on what its members, from Oxford and Cambridge to the University of Derby, have in common. It seems to ignore what divides them, such as allocations of funds, and research weighting. "The CVCP has never been a forum for that sort of competitive information," says Dr Nield.

The present chairman is Dr Kenneth Edwards, of the University of Leicester, a solid rather than a charismatic leader. His job is to hold together a heterogeneous crew, for example on the question of expanding student numbers. There the interests of, say, the University of Birmingham favouring consolidation are clearly at odds with the ex-colleges of higher education institutions, which want continuing growth.

Leslie Wagner, the director of Leeds Metropolitan University, acknowledges that he and his former polytechnic colleagues do not seem to have changed much at Tavistock Square. "Individual universities," he says, "will still cultivate their favourite minister, or civil servant."

Looking to other countries, or other lobbying activities in Britain, some vice-chancellors have long favoured beefing up the CVCP, making it more active, more professional and more aggressive in carrying a message about student numbers and finance and research to the public at large, undercutting the politicians where necessary.

Others, mainly from the top research universities, have started talking among themselves and there is at least a possibility of a secession from the CVCP of the top 15 institutions. Privately, vice-chancellors from old and new institutions say the CVCP's dilemma is that it would be a more effective, high-profile body if it were stronger. But it could be stronger only if its members were less diverse, and more united. The Government, like its funding councils, can safely rely on that old maxim about dividing and ruling.

● The author is the urban affairs correspondent for BBC Radio News.

It would be more effective if it were stronger

Where else will the morrow be taken by the scruff of the neck?

dwarfs on the shoulders of the giants of the 1920s and 1930s. The world was neo-Freudian, Marxist or Keynesian, according to taste and discipline. Their students hunched from the juvenile rebellion of the comfortable in the later 1960s to a sullen indifference to the political process in the 1970s.

I do not expect, or seek, universities and colleges steeped only in Adam Smith, Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman. Universities should not be seminaries of right, left or centre. They should be the last places on earth where a group mind predominates, where there are politically correct answers, where men and women are automatically seen as creatures of circumstance rather than masters of destiny. Where else will the morrow be taken by the scruff of the neck if not in our leading colleges?

Universities and colleges — like governments — are unable to plan and control social change. They can — like political leaders — assist favourable change by illuminating beliefs and values. Self-belief, not arrogance, self-reliance, not complacency, energy, not fatalism; tempered optimism, not corrosive pessimism; these values should be sought after, alongside the traditional liberal vir-

This year, one school in eight will be the target of arsonists — and help is not at hand

Who will stop the fire brigade?

Last week's series of school fires in Stockport, Greater Manchester, highlighted once more a seemingly insoluble (and costly) problem for the education service. Schools are the arsonists' favourite target. One in eight can expect a fire this year, according to insurers. Yet few schools have the money to take the precautions that could lessen the risk or minimise the damage.

High-technology cut the bill for Stockport's seven school fires, although the education authority still expects repairs to cost more than £500,000. Alarms ensured that firefighters were swiftly on the scene at six of the schools and the adult education centre attacked.

That is little consolation to Dial Park primary school, however, which had to be closed after two buildings were damaged extensively. Children's work and teachers' notes went up in flames, valuable equipment was lost, and the children's education disrupted.

The story is repeated scores of times each year. Only the scale of the Stockport incidents brought them to national attention.

Zurich Municipal, which has three-quarters of the school insurance market, calculates that the damage from school fires cost more than £70 million last year. The figure, based on claims in 1992, is significantly higher than the £45 million estimate made by the government-sponsored Arson Prevention Bureau last year. Secondary schools are most at risk, and the most likely to experience a serious blaze. One fire in Derbyshire caused £5 million worth of damage, and at least 20 required repairs of more than £1 million.

The North West is one of England's arson blackspots, although few parts of Britain are immune from the menace of school fires. Isolated rural schools can be more

vulnerable than their urban counterparts, and even in areas such as East Anglia the crime has become commonplace.

School arson began to become a serious problem more than 20 years ago, but the rise in reported cases was gradual until the late 1980s. The dramatic increase then, attributed to an adolescent craze,

has never subsided. Larry Stokes, Zurich Municipal's underwriting manager, says: "Schools were never built to survive this level of attack, and the spread of computers and audio-visual equipment means that their contents are much more valuable than before. There is no sign of a downturn in losses."

Researchers at Sheffield University



School's out completely: Dial Park primary after the recent blaze

sity who surveyed schools for the Arson Prevention Bureau found that three-quarters of school fires are started deliberately. Joanna Shapland, the academic who conducted the research, says: "Head teachers generally thought that youths in the neighbourhood — often former pupils — were responsible. The motive was not necessarily revenge, and often those setting the fires may not have intended to cause extensive damage."

Some authorities are investing heavily in security measures. Coventry, for example, is fencing its schools, and West Lothian is experimenting with steel shutters, alarms and closed-circuit television at its most vulnerable sites.

The Arson Prevention Bureau is now encouraging local authorities to identify their most vulnerable schools, and concentrate their resources on them. Sprinkler systems and sophisticated alarms are the ultimate prescription, but only about 20 out of more than 25,000 state schools have sprinklers, in spite of the offer of cheaper insurance premiums for those that do.

None of the bodies involved has been able to crack the psychology of the arsonist. Schools are easy targets because they are often isolated and usually empty at night, when most arson is committed. The same is true of churches, which suffer similarly, and the bureau is about to abandon its special working group on schools in favour of a group looking at youth offences in general.

The Home Office is soon to complete its own study of adolescent crime, but there is little sign of a successful assault on the roots of the problem. The insurance companies and the education authorities are pinning their hopes on containment.

JOHN O'LEARY

Baby, you're out of time

Eager parents, we have been told, would do well to avoid a summer birth if they want their child to become a footballer. I suspect the academics would have found the same in any number of fields, and it is not hard to see why.

Parents are legally bound to see that their child attends school on the first day of the term following his or her fifth birthday. In practice, if his birthday falls in autumn, he will probably enter when the school re-starts in September of that year. He will then spend three full years in the infant school.

Unfortunately, staffing and sometimes accommodation difficulties arising from earlier admissions mean that a child born after Easter is unlikely to be able to attend before the next September. So he will spend only two years in the infants school.

His older companion, who will move with him to the junior school on the same day, will by then have had 50 per cent more state education. Furthermore, almost a year's extra development, physically, mentally, socially and in general maturity gives the older child at that young age a huge advantage. The younger child will never be free of that imposed handicap because, though as he grows older the extra year becomes statistically less significant, the damage will already have been done.

With every "backward" class that I taught, I found that children born in the summer months formed a disproportionately high percentage. A survey has shown that for every child in a remedial class who has spent three years in the infant school, there will

VIEWPOINT
WALTER COUSINS

probably be three who have spent only two years there.

Levels of attainment naturally tend to be lower among the youngest, who are often then wrongly assessed as of lower basic ability because of their month of birth. Once again the state system will have started its regular process of finding problem children among happy infants.

Differences among the children are probably even more marked



on the playing-field than in the classroom, for there the younger children tend to be the "rabbits" of their year in both physique and acquired skills. This can have a deep and adverse psychological effect on an intelligent, sensitive youngster, for all young people put a high premium on physical development and achievement, and those who appear to lag behind are often cruelly taunted

and even physically bullied by their more advanced peers.

When my pupils sat the 11-plus, the younger children were rightly given an age allowance; but this was forgotten in the grammar school, because there was no age allowance in O-level examinations. From this there stemmed many grammar-school "failures". This was not considered when the 11-plus selection procedure was condemned as only 90 per cent accurate.

The handicap endured by summer-born children is sometimes made even worse by premature birth. As children born at 26 weeks have survived, a child planned for September can arrive in June and still live. With a birthday in June, July or August such a child will be legally required to attend infant school, for just two years, among an intake one school year older than the age group to which he naturally belongs. In such classes, we add the educational handicap of being in the wrong year to that of being summer-born.

All children should commence infant school in the September after their fourth birthday. This would not completely overcome the handicap our system arbitrarily imposes on summer-born children but it would help to redress the balance.

Premature babies should have two "birthdays" every year. When premature birth, natural or induced, alters a child's year group or first term at school, parents should have the right to have the due, full-term pregnancy date accepted, for education purposes, as his official birthday.

● The author is a retired primary schoolteacher.

GOSPEL page 36

An enthusiastic London congregation greets the mighty US ensemble
Sounds of Blackness



ARTS

BOOKS page 37

German spies, Muslim
mutiny and the British
Empire: a splendid new
work by Peter Hopkirk



The art of urban revival

As Glasgow prepares for Mayfest 1994,
Andrew Gibbon Williams surveys the
city's remarkable cultural regeneration

It is hardly surprising that Glaswegians are taking an interest in their city. Over the past ten years Glasgow has experienced an extraordinary renaissance. In the Princes Square Mall Glasgow can boast the most stylish shopping centre in Britain; in the Italian Centre a brilliant solution to the problem of mixing shops, restaurants and housing. These days, Scotland's largest city has about it the prosperous feel of Bordeaux or Düsseldorf.

Admittedly, behind the city-centre glass Glasgow's social ills lurk as chronic as ever. Yet the atmosphere in Glasgow is strikingly upbeat, not least because the city's image has changed: instead of urban squalor, Glasgow now means trendy art-musea.

The present high profile of the arts in Glasgow is largely due to the positive attitude of Glasgow City Council and the confidence engendered by Glasgow's success as European City of Culture in 1990. There were many at the time who doubted the wisdom of the effort and expenditure involved, but since then the engine of Glasgow's cultural ambition has seemed unstoppable.

Last year, for example, Glasgow succeeded in wresting the plumb of the proposed National Gallery for Scottish Art from the grasp of its perennial cultural rival, Edinburgh. Even failure meets with a robust response. When Glasgow's attempt to achieve the Arts Council Year of Visual Arts designation foundered, the city promptly filled in the forms for architecture and design. Meanwhile, the conversion of the Stirling's Library into Glasgow's own Gallery of Modern Art, a project originally conceived only as an element in the failed bid, continues apace. The tangible evidence of improvement is striking. Both the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall and the McEwan Galleries (the most elegant large exhibition space outside London) were both

City of Culture year prizes. The Glasgow Cathedral complex, for example, might serve as a model of how art can help upgrade the environment. Until two years ago St Mungo's cut a dreary spectacle in the lee of the unlovely Royal Infirmary. Now, complemented by the Museum of Religious Life and Art, landscaped and sensitively illuminated, the cathedral precinct has become a pleasant inner-city focus. When, in a year's time the Physic Garden next to the Provand's Lordship is completed, and Mackintosh's nearby Martyrs' School converted into the headquarters of Glasgow's Open Museum, the entire area will be even more attractive.

The story of Glasgow's cultural regeneration, however, is far from all *grande projects*, and this Friday the event gets under way which, as it has annually expanded its horizons, has come to epitomise Glasgow's new spirit. Mayfest, now billed as Europe's Boldest Festival, started life 11 years ago as a community-based arts celebration. But, as a glance at this year's sturdy brochure reveals, the event has burgeoned into something far more cosmopolitan: there's experimental music from Germany, blues from Algeria and, of course, masses of stand-up comedy. In scale and variety, Mayfest now gives Edinburgh's summer bash a run for its money.

Yet, in a way, Mayfest is already afflicted by the malaise which bedevils the Edinburgh Festival. Its sheer diversity now gives it the incoherence which baffles those silly enough to attempt to make sense of the Edinburgh Fringe. A US Country Music Season has this year been appended to the World Music Season. One World First is apparently celebrating "the power and influence of international theatre and dance — East and West, Africa and Cuba." What festive



The Cholmondeleys dance group celebrate their 10th anniversary at Mayfest with *Metalcholia*

spirit could possibly encompass Nina Simone, the Nuremberg Choir and the Clydebuilt Cellidh Band? Fortunately, it seems, those at the helm have already identified this

"all things to all men" weakness. According to one member of Mayfest's board, the debate about the festival's direction is already raging, and all concur that Mayfest's original purpose of fill-

ing a gap in Glasgow's patchy arts scene has been superseded by the city's extraordinary cultural revival. Next year, it is hoped, Mayfest will again "belong a wee bit more to Glasgow".

OPERA: Experimentalists at their best

Timely success for the Factory

The Rake's Progress
Queen Elizabeth Hall

OPERA Factory is the company you love to hate, or hate to love, or sometimes even love to love. Whichever way, love always comes into it somewhere. It has been part of operatic life here for nearly 15 years and is currently in dire financial difficulties: the fact that an appeal for £50,000 was launched from the stage by a critic, of all people, says a lot, and without it the Factory's next project — *Troy*, a new piece by Nigel Osborne inspired by Euripides and the composer's own experiences in Sarajevo — will not go ahead, and the company's whole future will be in jeopardy.

Does this matter? Yes, emphatically. As with all experimental organisations, there are going to be failures as well as successes, but a company that has given us, among much else, Birtwistle's *Yon Tön Tethera*, one of the best postwar stagings of *Così fan tutte* and transformed a dire Don Giovanni of 1990 into a rather marvellous one the following year, has to be preserved for the nation.

Luckily, David Freeman's *Rake* is a timely success. Of course, there are moments to make one fidgity. Predictably enough, the scenes in brothel and madhouse are a red rag to the company's production style, with the sort of heavy-breathing S&M frolics in the former and mopping and mowing in the latter that one encounters frequently in Factory stagings but seldom in real life. And Freeman is not a director who has much trust in stillness.

But the production team creates useful tension between the studied artificiality — on the surface, at least — of the work itself and a quasi-naturalistic staging. David Roger's beautifully simple design is for today: the action opens in green-walled country and proceeds to a somewhat imprecisely sited Canary Wharf. You soon get used to the combination of this and the arch, or "Cyprian Queen" element in Auden's libretto.

of the problems of balance in a pitiless auditorium — his excellent Premiere Ensemble is placed in one side of the stage — and puts more emphasis on the soulful lyricism of Stravinsky's score than on its chancy element. Orchestral as well as visually, there is interesting tension between alienation and engagement, and the quality of the playing and singing reminds you that first-rate musical preparation is as much a feature of the Factory's work as directorial provocation.

The production decisively counters what some have detected as a misogynistic streak in the work: Anne Thulove, not just because she is most beautifully sung by Mary Plazas, dominates the evening as a truly heroic character, and Baba the Turk, disturbingly hermaphroditic in action as well as appearance, is much more than just a freak. Susanah Self's poised singing alone sees to that, and her scene with Anne rightly emerges as a — if not indeed the — pivotal point of the drama.

Mark Tucker's rangy Rakewell started a little reedily but soon settled down to some nicely lyrical singing, and there is a truly virtuosic Nick Shadow in Geoffrey Dolton, equally convincing in the several personae he presents: an obsequious gentleman, a gentleman at the opening, a leather rocker who services Tom with an injection that you can bet your life isn't B12, a seedy Emcee-figure with unzipped fly, Bergman's cowed Death — this is a quite amazing performance. His unscheduled return in the finale as Keeper of the Madhouse is a very acceptable gloss on the text.

This, I think, the Factory at its best. There are performances up to May 15, after which the company pays a cultural-capital visit to Lisbon. Warmly recommended.

RODNEY MILNES

FROM TRAINSPOTTING TO WILD WOMEN

Mayfest runs from Friday to May 21st venues throughout Glasgow. Tickets for most events are available at The Ticket Centre, Conderlrig. Venues with phone number specified should be contacted through The Ticket Centre number, 041-221 5511

● **THEATRE/DANCE:** Highlights of the Mayfest season include the 784 Theatre Company's dramatisation of Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* at the Citizens Theatre (041-429 0022); the Citizens' own production of Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* at the same venue; and the multinational Theatre Cryptic's *Bonjour Tristesse* at the Tramway (041-423 1333). The Maly Drama Theatre from St Petersburg is mounting a season of Russian plays at both the Citizens and the Tramway: new productions include *The Cherry Orchard* and an adapta-

tion of Dostoevsky's *The Possessed*. Among the many dance offerings are the Cholmondeleys, celebrating their tenth anniversary with *Metalcholia*, Les Anderson's "wild women on motorbikes" show (April 29, 30), at the New Athenaeum Theatre (041-332 5057); and the Adzido Pan African Dance Ensemble, also celebrating its tenth anniversary, at the Mitchell Theatre on May 14.

● **MUSIC:** Rita Hunter sings opera pops with the Polish National Radio Symphony Orchestra at the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall on May 16. New works by Nixon in China composer John Adams are performed by the Royal Scottish National Orchestra and Chorus at the same venue on May 5, and Gavin Bryars's extraordinary music/film collage, *Jesus Blood Never Filled Me Yet*, is performed at the Beck's Tent on

May 2. Nina Simone performs in the Beck's Tent on May 3. Extensive world music and country music seasons are being held in the tent and on The Ferry.

● **VISUAL ART:** At William Hardie Fine Art (041-221 6870) the career of Adrian Wisniewski is celebrated. Scotland's grand old man of landscape painting, Duncan Shanks, is on show alongside Britain's finest permanent collection of Whistlers at the Hunterian Gallery (041-339 8855), and also at Roger Billcliffe Fine Art (041-332 4027). Installation artist David Mach takes centre stage at the Glasgow Print Studio (041-552 0704). English artist Stanley Spencer's little-known wartime sojourn in Glasgow is the subject of "Canvassing the Clyde: Stanley Spencer and the shipyards" at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (041-331 1854).



Gavin Bryars presents an extraordinary music/film collage



Susannah Self and Mark Tucker in *The Rake's Progress*

CONCERTS: The magic of Mendelssohn and a Bruckner recital that doesn't quite sound like Bruckner

Brilliance shines through

Leipzig Gewandhaus
Orchestra
Barbican/Radio 3

NOT many orchestras who boast their support for new music can compete with the good judgment of the Leipzig Gewandhaus. Their championing of Schubert's Ninth Symphony, Schumann's Second and the Violin Concertos of Brahms and Mendelssohn in the heyday of their history has provided them with a trunkful of trophies to carry round on their 250th anniversary tour.

Kurt Masur, their music director since 1970, introduced Mendelssohn (he had taken over in 1835) with his overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: four reedy wind chords and then the tiniest, finest beat of fairy wings as the pinpoint attack and rhythmic discipline, so much a hallmark of this orchestra's strings, opened, as they used to say, the gates to fairyland.

Mendelssohn himself had conducted the first performances of both Schumann's Second Symphony, which ended this concert, and Schubert's Ninth, which concluded the orchestra's visit on Friday night. Both, in their time, caused quite a stir. Now, of course, attention tends to be focused away from the creator to the re-creator; and even a blindfold test would leave one in no doubt at all as to who was playing.

The Gewandhaus string sound is strong, firm and bright with a brilliance which glims rather like the patent leather shoes the players wear — to a man. And it is distinguished by a rhythmic decisiveness which is never driven. While every turn of the cogwheel is heard — often felt — there is a gentleness of motion which brought liveliness and grace to the Scherzo of the Schumann. In the first movement of the Schubert, rhythmic precision was second to none; yet it was only a vehicle for riding on through the barlines to an energy which came primarily from the ebb and flow of accent and inflection. Masur conducts without a baton, and his hands, quivering and fluttering, often seem to play the music rather than conduct it.

The orchestra's woodwind and brass is equally distinctive. The ear recognised once more — and with a passing frisson of delight — the reedy oboe, the resinous clarinet, the dense, sweet texture of horn and trombone. For Schumann's slow movement they conjured up the very essence of *Waldensankel* — the forest solitude beloved of the Romantic poets whose verse Schumann so often set. And in Schubert, the Leipzig's wonderful principal oboe rose high above the gutty, earthbound lower strings, presaging the violins' own distant, sustained song.

The orchestra are being accompanied on tour by a changing roster of soloists. London was greeted by two violinists: Viktoria Mullova for Brahms in the first concert, and young Sarah Chang for Mendelssohn.

To listen to Mullova is to experience vicariously the sheer physical joy of the human body conquering wood and metal, and the mind conquering all three. To listen to the 13-year-old Chang, to forget virtuosity and to hear music. Something new about the score itself is constantly being revealed. Mendelssohn's concerto was still, indeed, a work to be wondered at by Chang. It is still growing under her fingers and in her imagination, and this is enthralling to watch and to hear.

HILARY FINCH

Note of insecurity

CSO/Rattle
Birmingham

SIMON Rattle and the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra clearly do not intend to give Europe an easy time when they go on tour to some of its major musical centres next month. One of their programmes, which links Tippett's Fourth Symphony with Bruckner's Seventh, will no doubt cause considerable apprehension — and with some justification as far as the latter work is concerned, particularly in places with a firm Bruckner tradition like Vienna and Leipzig.

Tippett's "life to death" Fourth Symphony (which, thanks to a remarkable performance by Bröds Rail, I missed on this occasion in Birmingham) has a way of enthralling even a reluctant audience. Bruckner's Seventh is a different kind of experience, one that requires no less emotional commitment but also time and patience and a long-term strategy.

The opening of the Bruckner in Symphony Hall, where the pianissimo violin tremolandoes were scarcely audible, through an acoustic miscalculation, seemed promising: it suggested that Rattle was expanding the dynamic range, no doubt with an equivalent extension at the other end, so as to be able to reflect the vastness of the structure all the more vividly. But, as it turned out, that was not his idea at all. This was not a structural interpretation, it was a presentation of Bruckner as a colourist, as an artist drawing his lyrical inspiration through sensitively cal-

lated orchestral textures, with the occasional sharply defined square shape heavily applied to a surface decorated otherwise to the expressive line.

Perhaps the thinking was that if Bruckner is such a great architect, you can concentrate on something else and the structure will show through anyway. But it doesn't work that way. The end has to be in view from the start, when the inevitable progress towards it begins. In this case, the last movement, the building-block material of which is so much less susceptible to expressive treatment, sounded as though it belonged to a different work, in spite of the thematic echoes.

There were moments of great beauty in the performance, not least in the skillfully realised contrapuntal exchanges between first and second violins (deployed on opposite sides of the platform) in the slow movement. But there was also a certain amount of fumbling, of not quite unanimous entries and other small anomalies in ensemble, of insecure brass casting doubt on the wisdom of it all. If you deny Bruckner the Bruckner sound, looking for Schubert at one extreme or Elgar at the other, that is what happens.

GERALD LARNER

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Norman Stone on how German spies tried to mobilise the Muslim world against the British Empire

The Kaiser's holy war

Norman Stone

ON SECRET SERVICE
East of ConstantinopleBy Peter Hopkirk
John Murray, £19.99

The Mother of All Battles was proclaimed, and a *fatwa* to that effect was read out in all the mosques of the Empire. The date was November 1914, and upon this occasion it was the Ottoman Sultan who, at German instigation, called upon Muslims to rise against the British throughout the Middle East.

The British position might have been very difficult indeed: for how, without Islamic help, could you run, during a world war, an empire that stretched over Muslim territory, between Egypt and Malaya? Their Russian allies could also have been in difficulties, since they had their own Islamic dependencies.

Some people knew this. John Buchan wrote *Greenmantle*, one of his best novels, in 1915, about German attempts to instigate a vast Muslim mutiny. It was, as Peter Hopkirk writes in this splendid book, required reading even for the Tsar and Tzaritsa, and was strangely knowledgeable about German plans and agents: "Hilde von Einem" was real enough, and so were the British agents who combated her.

The interesting thing — and it has

obvious present-day resonance — is that these German efforts at *jihad* did not get anywhere. Islam in politics, and especially in foreign affairs, was never what the more ambitious clerics wished it to be, and the Sultan's appeals were ignored.

Though the end of Hopkirk's book takes up British involvement in Russian Transcaucasia in 1918-19, its main subject is Anglo-German rivalry in the Middle East, and he has read his way through the books on the subject (he says, entirely credibly, that he has also read some

Public Record Office documents: but, oddly for such an obvious professional, he does not give references). It is a very good story, and a well-told one.

Its centrepiece is the German attempt to raise India via Afghanistan. Various Indians had gathered in Berlin, and plans were made to send arms by ship from California to the Indian Ocean — even the Andaman Islands, where Indian revolutionaries had been interned. Such plans ended in farce — rendezvous missed, near the Galapagos Islands, a German agent in Singapore "turned", and ships mysteriously lost at sea, probably to British attack.



An imperial appetite

However, via Turkey, the Germans sent out several hundred men to penetrate Persia, and appeal directly to the Emir of Afghanistan. They were equipped with pompous letters from the Kaiser to various Indian rulers (who objected that they had been type-written, whereas George V hand-wrote his equivalents). The German officers involved were very brave and resourceful — especially their leader, Wilhelm Wassmuss, who, through personal ascen-

dancy over the local tribesmen, managed to outwit British forces infinitely stronger than his own.

After an epic journey through impos-

ible desert terrain in northern Persia, they reached Afghanistan, and then discovered that they were helpless. The Emir was not going to challenge the British and the Russians for the sake of remote Germans who anyway, he sensed, simply wished to replace the British Empire in India by their own. So he kept the German comfortably at arm's length, politely blackmailing the Viceroy in Delhi into paying larger subsidies, until eventually the Germans found their way back — some via Peking, others back across the desert to Constantinople, again after much travail: one of them, Niernayer, had to dress as a beggar, and quite literally rely upon alms in bazaars in order to get back undetected.

In January 1917, the German Foreign Office sent a famous telegram (the "Zimmerman Telegram") to the President of Mexico, appealing for alliance

against a still-neutral America. The telegram was sent along the American Embassy's own cable for forwarding. However, thanks to the capture of German codes from the adventurers in the Middle East, the British could read these, and were anyway intercepting American signals. They informed the Americans of the telegram, without revealing their sources, and America entered the war against Germany.

By 1917, the British had taken Baghdad, and were well on the way to Damascus as well, through the Arab Revolt. There was trouble in the Indian Empire, but it is amazing that it was so limited. At the end of the war, the none-too-many Indian revolutionaries were rounded up and condemned — even, by an American court, the ones who had cooperated with German-Americans. As for the Islamic *jihad*, it had been a fiasco.

Hopkirk is not in the business of analysing all of this, but as a narrator he is excellent, and, so far as I can judge, both accurate and fair. The Middle East has great fascination for a certain kind of Englishman and it has produced some very good books. This is one of them.

Putting the artist back into art history

John Russell Taylor

NINETEENTH CENTURY ART
A Critical History

Edited by Stephen F. Eisenman

Thames & Hudson, £35 or
£19.95 paperback

Much art history today is curiously un-historical. We have got used to seeing Constable denounced for his inexplicable failure to be *au fait* with the teachings of Karl Marx in his attitude to the rustics who turn up in his paintings, or Renoir denounced for his attitudes to women in his work, insensitive as they are to current feminist notions of political correctness, or Gauguin denounced for colonialism and cultural appropriation because he adopted some design motifs native to Tahiti in his art.

The trouble, of course, is that it is all too easy to condemn whole schools of more or less sensible critics because of the antics of a lunatic fringe. Feminist criticism, studies of art in terms of patriarchal structures, Eurocentrism, reception and spectatorship, class and gender have frequently offered valuable insights, or at the very least redirected attention to artists and aspects of art which have been neglected or ignored. If practitioners of the so-called "new art history" sometimes get carried away by exaggerated ideas of their own novelty or the central importance of something they have just discovered, that is one of

the normal professional risks, and even the most absurd over-statement may be useful to counteracting distortion on the other side.

So, if one's first reaction at learning that this ambitious new history of 19th-century art is meant as a "radical reconsideration", taking aboard all the tenets of the new enlightenment, is a measure of alarm and despondency, it is worthwhile thinking again. It is worthwhile, even, actually reading the book. The list of contributors on special topics should also build confidence. Thomas Crow, for instance, is the author of *Painters in Public Life in Eighteenth Century Paris*, which takes up the "new" subjects of class, reception and such while keeping a sense of historical perspective. Linda Nochlin may or may not be a feminist critic (she tends to deny it), but her book on

The Artist Sketching at Mount Desert, Maine by Sanford R. Gifford (1864-65), from *American Views: Essays on American Art* by John Wilmerding (Princeton, £24.95 pbk)

Realism is a model of balance and good sense.

Balance and good sense are happily visible virtually throughout this book, whoever is writing the section in question. Encouragingly often, in fact, one finds that if one can penetrate a certain amount of modish terminology, the historical connections and distinctions made are not so far from what one might expect in the most avowedly traditional history: there may be more

than might have been expected 20 years ago about the social implications or hidden agendas of styles like Neo-Classicism, reflecting ideas of permanence and stability and thereby subtly discountenancing social change, but that hardly means that nobody has ever thought of this before.

Where the authors' approach does breathe new life into old observations is in what they question. It is a safely traditional view, for

instance, that the Impressionists' art was largely non-political, even when the individual artists, as private people, are known to have been intensely committed to various political ideologies.

It has not been so traditional to ask why, if this is in fact the case, and even less so to wonder whether ideologies of which their protagonists were not consciously aware did not all the same have a vital formative influence on art.

This is the sense in which studying Degas in terms of gender or Gauguin in terms of Eurocentricity may well provide new insights which go beyond the "psychoanalytic" approaches of a previous generation.

The mere fact that these are questions no one would have dreamed of asking in the artists' own day makes them that much more indicative of the forces and assumptions which shaped society then. It

must be said also that political correctness, though it encourages the posing of certain questions which were seldom raised before, also discourages the asking of other questions which have perhaps not totally lost their relevance.

In this book you can often find answers indicating the political incorrectness of this artist or that movement. You cannot so often find what earlier generations would have thought consequent

questions asked or answered. Like OK, so artist A's attitudes to women or what he would have regarded as "primitive" cultures are beyond the political pale. But does that in any way diminish the artistic quality of his work? Still, to each generation its own set of questions. "Irresponsible" questions of purely aesthetic value will, one hopes, return to the agenda of the next generation or the one after that.

Painting by sound bite

The front cover states: "Experience art in the world around you" — an injunction not immediately comprehensible. For the world that emerges from Rosemary Davidson's illustrations — Syrian tiles and American totem-poles, cave paintings and computer graphics — is not one that can be "around" many readers of the book.

Brian Alderson

WHAT IS ART?

By Rosemary Davidson
OUP, £12.99

For want of a more explicit rationale therefore, one must assume that this cross-cultural, a-historical array of art-works has been assembled to make us look more closely at implications rather than facts. It doesn't matter much that readers may never come across the golden mask from Mycenae, what counts is its capacity in yield a strange contrast with a yellow American Halloween pumpkin-head. Dumit's huge New York mural of Nelson Mandela is introduced, primarily as portraiture different from, but no less authentic than, Nicholas Hilliard's pastoral miniature of Henry Percy.

Davidson clearly relishes the possibilities of such comparisons and her enthusiasm is the most consistent element in an exposition that proceeds through a series of companionable lurches. There is a rough plan. She begins with the fundamentals of observation: how our way of seeing is conditioned by social and cultural experience: first she demonstrates some different

techniques which artists have used for telling stories, depicting people, decorating their surroundings, and second to outline the practical business of materials and processes, and doing art for a living.

She enjoins us to look at and think about what artists are trying to do, and, by extension, to carry the experience of looking beyond the book. "A child could do it", say the sceptics about so much 20th-century art. Well — what are we to think of *Crying Face* by Evelyn (aged ten) next door to Picasso's *Weeping Woman*? And what moral is to be drawn from Pieter Wiersma's beautiful pinnacled sand-castle photographed awash with the incoming tide?

Davidson's fragmentary presentation of many of these ideas is in tune with today's factual books for children, where sentences and captions are deemed more user-friendly than paragraphs and sustained arguments. Such succinctness works quite well in illustrated manuals but the method has severe limitations in books of any depth.

Look, for instance, at Patricia Wright's recent *Goya in Dorling Kindersley's "Eyewitness Art" series (£9.99)*. It's a knowledgeable introduction to "the life and works" but is vitiated by asthmatic design. The text is penned into the top left-hand corner of each page-opening and the rest of the spread is a confusion of snapshots and hiccuppy captions. Designed for the general reader as much as for children, neither class now seems to be credited with a concentration span that can survive more than a couple of sentences.



Davidson juxtaposes two images: "This Halloween pumpkin head made by schoolchildren looks rather like the kind of masked head... used for magic."



"This is the golden mask that was made to cover the face of a great king when he was buried at Mycenae in Greece about 3,500 years ago. The archaeologist who dug it up, Heinrich Schliemann, believed it had been made for King Agamemnon. But it was not made to look like Agamemnon or anyone else. It was a king's face, not a realistic one."

Two-man bandit

THE contents page of this book makes pleasantly surreal reading. As the first phrase of each chapter forms its heading, these titles produce unexpected mini-narratives: "A certain air of secrecy hangs over/The Carabinieri's small car/Understandably."

This quirky perspective is a good preparation for Frutero and Lucantini's satirical, bizarre world of enigmas, finally available in English after 20 years of inexplicable absence. In Italy, they are known as "the strange couple", intellectual and elitist yet a comic double act when they appear together. They are rare fish in their own country, for their intriguing literary partnership and for being best selling mystery writers who haven't been imported from England or America. Above the ordinary run of their genre, they host a literary programme on television and can command the best: Marcello Mastroianni is to play their *Commissario Santamaria* in a film later this year.

FOR the hackneyed English detective story reader, but also for non-admirers, here is an unexplored range of batty and likeable Italians, including an ambiguous, philosophical hermit, an embarrassed and cowardly count, a pair of TV comedians and a Carabinieri marshal who lives with his mother. The unlikely hero is an almost-reformed depressive, Gabriele Montorf, whose unflinching pessimism leads him instinctively towards the heart of the crime. With a lightness of touch not easily found in modern Italian narratives, endearing elements of the ridiculous abound, especially in those characters who take themselves most seriously. The pompous, paranoid politician Bonanno, for example, be-

comes positively *simpatico* in his conviction that the large rats overrunning his house are being surreptitiously introduced by a rival from the Ministry of Agriculture. The literary set who play at swapping erudite references find themselves satirically reflected in an enthusiastic conversation about Diogenes between the dubious hermit and one of their Filipino maids.

Harriet Paterson

AN ENIGMA BY
THE SEABy Carlo Frutero
and Franco Lucantini
Chatto & Windus, £9.99
paperback original

The rich comic passages do not, however, preclude darker tones — the shadowy portrait of clinically depressed Signora Zeme with her unforgettable "eyes of cement", whose only perceptions of the world reach her "as if from immense distances, like an echo rolling hollowly down dark gorges". The setting itself is full of menacing possibilities: one of those curiously Italian fenced-off enclaves for the rich, situated in man-made pine forests along the coast. It is mid-winter, when the Gualdana becomes bleak and claustrophobic.

Frutero and Lucantini introduce each element of their mystery in an effortless game: a *siracusa* is blowing, the sea is in a deceptive mood of strange currents, the tarot cards threaten, betrayal and sexual jealousy bubble. Suspense and tension are manipulated with finesse, stretching out the denouement. This is a sophisticated collaboration in any language, from two old hands who are welcome newcomers in English.

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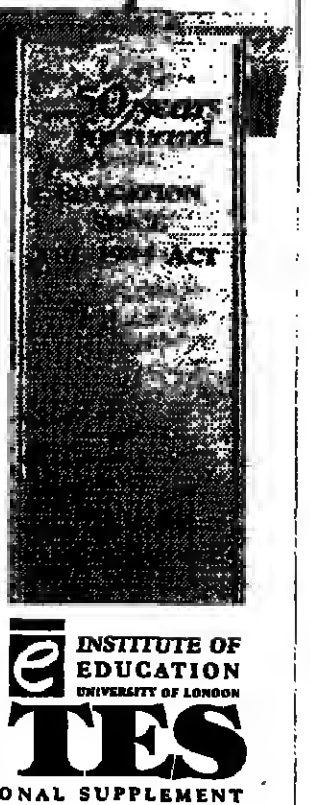
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THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT



Speed paramount in asylum appeals

Regina v Secretary of State for the Home Department, Ex parte Abdi

Same v Same, Ex parte Gawe before Lord Justice Neill, Lord Justice Steyn and Lord Justice Peter Gibson

[Judgment April 20]

The Secretary of State for the Home Department was not obliged to disclose to the special adjudicator all the material which was available to him when he made the decision to refuse asylum to an applicant who had arrived in the United Kingdom from a safe third country and to issue a certificate that the asylum seeker's claim that his removal would be contrary to the UK's obligations under the Geneva Convention 1951 was without foundation.

The special adjudicator was required to consider the asylum seeker's appeal on the material before him and unless the special appeal procedure itself could be impugned he was entitled to uphold the certificate.

It was not open to the court to supplement the statutory procedure set out in the Asylum Appeals (Procedure) Rules (SI 1993 No 1601) which was designed to achieve a very quick determination of appeals brought under the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993.

The Court of Appeal so held by a majority (Lord Justice Steyn dissenting) allowing an appeal by the Home Secretary from Mr Justice Sedley (The Times March 10, 1994) who had granted the applications of Khalid Mohamed Abdi and Abdulhadi Abdulhadi Gawe for orders of certiorari (quashing (i) certificates issued by the Home Secretary under paragraph 5 of Schedule 2 to the 1993 Act to the effect that each applicant's claim that his removal to Spain would be contrary to the UK's obligations under the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) (Cmd 9171) and (1967) (Cmd 3906) was without foundation and (ii) the dismissal by special adjudicators of appeals against the decision by the Home Secretary to refuse them leave to enter the UK.

The applicants were Muslim Somalis who had arrived in the UK via Spain sought asylum fearing persecution in Somalia. The Home Secretary, satisfied that Spain was a safe country to which the applicants could be sent in accordance with paragraph 180K of the Immigration Rules (HC 725), had, without considering their applications substantively, issued certificates that the applicants' claims that their removal would be contrary to the UK's obligations under the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) (Cmd 9171) and (1967) (Cmd 3906) was without foundation and (ii) the dismissal by special adjudicators of appeals against the decision by the Home Secretary to refuse them leave to enter the UK.

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Mr Justice Hidden so held in the Queen's Bench Division when refusing the application of S. G. Warburg & Co Ltd for judicial review of the decision of an inspector of taxes in a letter dated November 15, 1991 in which he allegedly failed to comply with the 1962 Inland Revenue statement of practice.

Mr John Gardner, QC and Mr Jonathan Penson, QC for Warburg & Co Ltd; Mr Ian Glick, QC and Mr Alan Griffiths for the commissioners.

MR JUSTICE HIDDEN said that the applicant, a merchant bank, had prior to April 1, 1986, valued its stock in trade on the LCM basis for accounting and taxation purposes. The commissioners were happy with that basis of valuation.

In 1986, Warburg was involved in merger arrangements with a leading stockjobbing firm and two leading stockbroking firms. Each

of those firms used the MTM basis of valuation. In order to rationalise the accounting and taxation policies of the newly formed group, a common basis of valuation was chosen and that was MTM. Warburg therefore changed its valuation policy from LCM to MTM with effect from April 1, 1986.

In order to come to his decision, the inspector had to look at the method of computing the value of stock, namely MTM, and to see first whether it was recognised by the accounting profession and second that it did not violate the taxing statutes.

To do that he had to apply the ordinary principles of common law and still ensure that the taxing statutes were not violated, paying attention to the overriding principle of tax law that profits could not be anticipated.

To achieve that end he had to act on what was before him, and he had the gist of the parties' arguments before him in all the relevant documents, to establish as a matter of fact what was the accounting position and revenue law at the material time.

His Lordship added that even if the court had held that the inspector's decision was *Wednesbury* unreasonable, he would have refused relief because the alternative remedy of an appeal to the general or special commissioners would achieve a just resolution of the applicant's claim: see *R v IRC, Ex parte Opman International UK* (1988) 1 WLR 568, 571D.

Solicitors: Slaughter & May; Solicitor: Inland Revenue.

regina v Secretary of State for the Home Department, Ex parte Abdi. Same v Same, Ex parte Gawe before Lord Justice Neill, Lord Justice Steyn and Lord Justice Peter Gibson.

Mr David Pannick, QC and Mr Ian Ashford-Thorn for the Home Secretary; Mr W. Robert Griffiths, QC and Mr Christa Fielden for the applicants.

LORD JUSTICE NEILL said that the effect of various provisions in the 1993 Act, the 1993 Rules and (HC 725) appeared to be that, where a person arrived in the UK and claimed asylum, the Home Secretary was entitled to refuse his application without substantive consideration of his claim to refugee status if the Home Secretary was satisfied: (a) that the applicant had not arrived in the UK directly from the country in which he feared persecution; (b) that the country from which he arrived was a safe country; and (c) that the applicant had an opportunity while in the safe country to make contact with that country's authorities in order to seek their protection.

The Home Secretary would then be entitled to issue a certificate that the applicant's claim that his removal would be contrary to the UK's obligations under the 1951 Convention was without foundation. That was not the end of the matter because the applicant could then invoke the special appeal procedure set out in paragraph 5 of Schedule 2 to the 1993 Act. The present appeal raised important questions as to how the special appeal procedure should operate.

Mr Pannick argued that the judge should have directed his attention exclusively to the decisions of the special adjudicators. It was their decisions which were in point because by section 8 of the 1993 Act an appeal lay from the Home Secretary's decision to a special adjudicator.

There was great force in that submission because as a general rule the court would not grant judicial review of a decision made by a specialist tribunal, the method of challenge was available.

However, as his Lordship was satisfied that the judge was wrong to conclude that the Home Secretary's decisions were irrational, it was not necessary to determine whether there might not be some exceptional cases where proceedings for judicial review of the original decision of the Home Secretary might lie.

His Lordship found the part of the case relating to the special adjudicator's decisions much more troubling and considered the view which was expressed was

that the special adjudicator's decisions should be quashed not only because they breached the rules of natural justice but also because there was no evidence before them that Spain was a safe third country.

They argued that the certificates contained no evidence but amounted merely to assertions. At the least the Home Secretary should have referred the special adjudicator to the report by Amnesty International of the cases of two Colombians who fled to the UK via Spain and who, having been returned to Spain as a safe third country, had then allegedly been returned by Spain to Colombia without any investigation of the substantive merits of their claims to asylum.

It was pointed out that in the case of another asylum seeker called Mr Hagl, the special adjudicator, on being acquainted with the Amnesty International reports had concluded that he did not agree with the "no foundation" certificate and referred the matter back to the Home Secretary.

It seemed to his Lordship that, faced with the regime authorised by Parliament, one had to address the following questions: 1 Was there any obligation on the Home Secretary to make available to the special adjudicator all the material which was available to him when he made the decisions, or alternatively, at any rate the material which was available to the special adjudicator about the Colombian cases?

2 If the Home Secretary was not under any such obligation, were the special adjudicators entitled on the material before them to uphold the certificates?

3 Was the procedure adopted by the special adjudicators otherwise so contrary to the rules of fairness and natural justice that the court should intervene?

On the first question, rule 5(6) of the 1993 Rules specified certain documents which had to be supplied to the special adjudicator, but those documents did not include an explanatory statement under rule 8 of the Immigration Appeals (Procedure) Rules (SI 1994 No 2041) because rule 8 did not apply to the special procedure.

In the light of those specific provisions it followed that the Home Secretary's obligations could not extend to providing to the special adjudicator or the applicant copies of the material which led him to his decision to claim to asylum was without foundation.

In his Lordship's judgment the Home Secretary's duty was to make sure that the question whether a country was safe was properly considered and that view which was expressed was

given in good faith and in accordance with a careful assessment of the material available.

He was also under a duty to furnish any particulars which might be requested under rule 25 of the 1984 Rules and also to comply with any other provisions of the 1984 Rules which were applied by the 1993 Rules to the appeals. His Lordship did not consider, however, that on the facts of the present cases his duty extended any further.

On the second question, his Lordship was troubled by the present procedure. The special adjudicators were experts in their field but the court had no information on what background material was available to them.

His Lordship hoped that it was, or would become, the practice for them to be provided with reports such as those prepared by Amnesty International so that they could be in a position to exercise their powers under rule 25 of the 1984 Rules to call for further particulars if they needed additional information.

But the instant adjudicators had to act on the material before them. They had to carry out their work within the time constraints imposed. The procedure was clearly intended to operate quickly, and exceptionally, it provided for an appeal procedure which could be invoked by the applicants while still in the country.

His Lordship's conclusion was that the special adjudicators' decisions could not be impugned. The certificates provided some evidence that Spain was a safe country. There was no material to suggest that they were not, in those circumstances, unless the procedure itself could be challenged they were entitled to uphold the certificates.

On the third question, although his Lordship shared many of the judge's anxieties, the court had to give effect to the fact that the procedure was a statutory procedure which had received the imprimatur of Parliament. The special adjudicators continued to exercise their powers under rule 25 of the 1984 Rules to determine the appeals. The procedure for the appeals was set out in the 1993 Rules.

In his Lordship's judgment, it was not open to the court to impose additional obligations either on the Home Secretary or the special adjudicator which would frustrate the statutory procedure in order to achieve justice. It seemed to his Lordship that the additional steps would be likely to frustrate the apparent purpose of the legislation, namely to provide a means to achieve a very quick determination

warrant for possession was executed and the tenant evicted from the property.

She applied for the warrant for possession to be suspended pursuant to Order 37, rule 3(3) of the County Court Rules 1981. Judge Adams, found the arrears to be reduced, and granted the tenant's application.

The landlords, contending that the judge had no power to set aside the warrant, relied on the Court of Appeal's decision in *Adwinckle* (The Times April 5, 1991) (1991) 24 FTLR 403, a case directly relevant to the questions for decision in the instant case. Although it was cited to Judge Adams it appeared that the court had not been referred to it.

Section 85(2) of the 1985 Act expressly empowering the court to suspend the execution of an order for possession either on the making of it or at any time before its execution, implicitly denied it the power to intervene after the order had been executed.

After a warrant for possession had been executed in such cases it could only be suspended or set aside if either (i) the order which it was issued was itself set aside (Governors of the Peabody Donation Fund v Hoy (1988) 19 HLR 145), (ii) the warrant had been obtained by fraud or (iii) there had been an abuse of process or oppression in its execution.

The judge was bound by *Adwinckle* and ought to have dismissed the application. The only ground on which it could have succeeded would have been one of abuse of process or oppression in its execution.

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of appeals brought under section 8(1) of the 1993 Act.

LORD JUSTICE STEYN, dissenting, said that the lot of refugees was often a desperate one. The spectre of torture or death or both often haunted them. The Amnesty International reports graphically documented the scale of inhumanity of man to man. That was why it was right to treat the rights of asylum seekers as fundamental rights.

In a European democracy founded on values of liberty and humanity, such as ours, our law accorded special protection to such fundamental rights. Everybody should know that. Parliament certainly did.

The courts could therefore accept that Parliament would not curtail such rights by a side-wind but only by the clearest provision if it considered that such fundamental rights of refugees should be sacrificed to aid of the economic prosperity of the citizens of this country.

What mattered were the decisions and reasoning of the special adjudicators. The only material before them suggesting that Spain was a safe country was a paragraph in the Home Secretary's decision letters amounting to no more than a statement by him to the special adjudicator that "Spain is safe because I say so".

Given the context that a special adjudicator was obliged to consider the matter independently and *de novo*, his Lordship was satisfied that it did not by itself amount to evidence or material having probative force. Accordingly both decisions were unlawful.

The judge ruled that the Home Secretary had a legal duty to disclose material facts tending to prove or disprove the safety of a third country in proceedings before the special adjudicators.

It seemed to his Lordship that if the procedural system set out in the legislation was not effective by itself to protect the rights of refugees the common law could supplement the legislation in aid of procedural fairness.

Contrary to the Home Secretary's submission, his Lordship would hold that the duty of disclosure envisaged by the judge would not in any way frustrate the aim of the legislation. The procedure in fact adopted was no unfair as to be unlawful. The consequences of the adopted procedure was to render ineffective fundamental rights of asylum seekers.

Lord Justice Peter Gibson delivered a judgment agreeing with Lord Justice Neill.

Solicitors: Treasury Solicitor; Param & Co, Colindale.

Regina v Batt

Before Lord Justice Saville, Mr Justice Auld and Mr Justice Stuart-Wright

[Judgment March 25]

Where a defendant was charged with an offence of possessing a class B drug with intent to supply, but with no further charge of drug dealing, evidence of cash found on the premises where the drugs were discovered was not admissible.

The Court of Appeal, Criminal Division, so held in allowing an appeal by Lord Justice Auld against his conviction in September 1992 at Bristol Crown Court (Miss Recorder Sullivan and a jury) of possessing a class B drug, namely cannabis, with intent to supply.

Mr Noel Sweeney, assigned by the Registrar of Criminal Appeals, for the appellant; Mr John Virgo for the Crown.

LORD JUSTICE SAVILLE, giving the judgment of the court, said that police officers found 500g of cannabis at the appellant's home. They also found £150 in notes.

At the trial, the recorder ruled against defence counsel's submission that the cash should not be admitted as evidence of the money found. On appeal, Mr Sweeney submitted that the possession of £150 could in no way be probative of the offence with which the appellant was charged because that money was not cashed, but was in the form of banknotes.

Indeed it could be highly prejudicial because the jury might infer that the cash was the proceeds of drug dealing, a charge with which the appellant was not charged. Mr Virgo argued that such matters as scales or money by way of a float were a hallmark of the intent to supply.

Their Lordships disagreed with that submission. It was indeed a hallmark, but not of intent to supply the cannabis found, rather of a propensity to supply generally.

This was not a drug trading case but was exclusively devoted to the charge that the appellant had the cannabis found at his home with intent to supply. Accordingly it was wrong for the recorder to have admitted evidence and the appeal had to be allowed.

Solicitors: CPS, Bristol.

Regina v Redman

A trial judge erred when he summed up a case on a different basis from that canvassed during the trial and declined to add anything to the summing up after counsel had drawn the matter to his attention.

The Court of Appeal (Lord Justice Russell, Mr Justice Auld and Mr Justice Stuart-Wright) so held in allowing an appeal by Colin Christopher Redman against his conviction on September 28, 1992 at Winchester Crown Court (Deputy Judge An-

thony Lewisham and a jury) of escaping from lawful custody and common assault.

MR JUSTICE ALLIOTT said that time and again the Court of Appeal had urged judges to resolve issues of law before counsel's speeches, or at least before summing up. That was when those matters should be hammered out with all the lawyers in court, without confusing the jury.

In this case the issue was left to the jury on a different basis from that in argument and the court had to allow the appeal.

In re R (a Minor) (Wardship: Restraint of Publication)

Before Sir Thomas Bingham, Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Henry and Lord Justice Millett

[Judgment April 14]

Where a ward of court was the victim of an alleged criminal act giving rise in criminal proceedings, it was for the judge of those proceedings and not for the wardship judge to restrain, if necessary, the publication of any report of the criminal trial.

The Court of Appeal so held allowing an appeal by the father from Judge Coningsby, who, sitting as a deputy judge of the Family Division, in refusing to discharge an injunction made on the *ex parte* application of the ward's guardian *ad litem* which prevented the publication of any material relating to the ward, had also refused to exclude from the ambit of the injunction publication of reports of the father's forthcoming criminal trial.

It was solely against the judge's refusal to grant that exclusion that the father had appealed.

Mr Andrew Nicol for the father; Mr Walter Aylen, QC and Miss Lindsey Macdonald for the mother; Mr Brian Jubb for the guardian *ad litem*.

THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS said that the child, born in 1986, had been a ward of court with care and control granted to the mother and staying access to the father. However, access ceased after the father failed to comply with a direction of the court.

Subsequently, the father was arrested, charged with kidnapping the ward and committed for trial on that count.

The main burden of his application to discharge the injunction appeared to be that in its present form it was too wide to prevent the reporting of his trial and represented a severe restriction on his and the media's freedom of speech.

The mother and the guardian *ad litem* opposed the application and sought to prevent the adverse effect of publicity on the ward's welfare.

Mr Nicol had relied on *Scott v Scott* [1913] AC 417 and in particular on *Attorney General v Leveller Magazine Ltd* [1979] AC 440, 449, per Lord Diplock, from which he derived the following propositions:

1 As a general rule legal proceedings should be conducted in public and be fully and freely reported.

2 There was an exception where the effective administration of justice to the particular case required a derogation from that principle, but that was not so in the present case so far as a report of criminal proceedings was concerned. Mr Nicol submitted that there was no jurisdiction in the wardship court to restrain publication of a fair and accurate report of the criminal proceedings.

3 There could be a statutory derogation from the rule. In the present case restrictions were imposed on the reporting of the wardship proceedings by section 12(1) of the Administration of Justice Act 1960 but he submitted that that did not apply to a report of the criminal proceedings.

4 There was no relevant exception so far as the criminal proceedings were concerned because section 39 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 did not enable the criminal court to restrain publication of the father's trial but if it did not extend to that submission, it did, then that court and not the wardship judge should have exercised the power to make a section 39 order.

His Lordship concluded: 1 The starting point must be that

the wardship judge should not, in the absence of a statutory restriction, reports of proceedings in a public court of law should only be restrained where and to the extent that the restraint was shown to be necessary for the purpose of protecting the proper administration of justice.

2 It was obviously very desirable, in the interests of the ward, that publicity concerning her upbringing and family situation should be as limited as possible.

3 It was clear that in the present case there was no statutory provision which automatically restrained reporting of the criminal trial. Further, the present case was not one in which a restraint on such reporting was necessary to enable the judge to do justice in the wardship proceedings.

In his Lordship's view it was clear that the judge in the criminal trial had power to make an order under section 39 of the 1933 Act.

That section provided that in relation to any proceedings in any court, the court might direct that no newspaper report could reveal the name, address or school, or include any particulars calculated to lead to the identification of any child concerned in the proceedings as being "the person by or against whom" proceedings were taken.

Despite Mr Nicol's argument to the contrary it was quite plain that the ward here, as the victim of the alleged crime, just in the same way as a child who was the victim of ill treatment or of an alleged sexual offence, was "the person in respect of whom the proceedings are taken" even though she was not the person "by or against whom" proceedings were taken.

4 His Lordship had the gravest doubts whether the wardship judge had power to make the order restraining publication of the reporting of the criminal trial for reasons to be given more fully by Lord Justice Millett, but even if the judge had that power he should have left it to the criminal judge to decide whether an order should be made under section 39.

That section was a special statutory power directed specifically to the present situation and it was exercisable by the trial judge. It was obviously preferable that the matter should be left to him.

His Lordship rejected the argument that there was any technical difficulty to the mounting of such an application.

On facts such as the present it was plainly open to the prosecutor to make an appropriate application. That was much the most simple and economical course and the one usually adopted. In that situation it would be very easy for the guardian *ad litem* to supply the prosecutor with any material necessary for the application.

Alternatively, counsel for the guardian might make the application on the ward's behalf. While criminal courts were rightly averse to prevent persons not involved in a trial from making statements and applications, given the terms of section 39 his Lordship could not think that the judge would decline to hear counsel properly instructed on behalf of a child in the present circumstances.

Quite often the defendant himself might apply on the group of the father's trial but if he might feel inhibited in presenting his defence if he apprehended that it would lead to publicity harmful to his child and perhaps weaken his position in the wardship proceedings.

So far as cost could gather, that was not so here since it appeared that the father would oppose the making of any section 39 order.

His Lordship would accordingly allow the appeal and amend the judge's order so as to include the proviso sought.

Lord Justice Henry delivered a

judgment concurring in the result.

LORD JUSTICE MILLETT said that in a wardship jurisdiction, in addition to section 12(1) of the 1960 Act, had an inherent jurisdiction to prohibit publication of information concerning a ward which was directed at the ward or at those having responsibility for the ward's upbringing and thereby threatened the effective working of the court's jurisdiction.

That jurisdiction was of recent origin, its source and justification lying in the power of the court to protect the integrity of its own process. There was no jurisdiction to protect the ward from adverse publicity which did not threaten the effective working of the court's jurisdiction merely on the ground that such publicity might be contrary to the interests of the ward or damaging to his welfare.

Prior to the judge's decision, the new jurisdiction had been confined to prohibiting the publication of the ward's name and address or other information calculated to lead to his identification.

His Lordship referred to the judgment of Lord Justice Russell in *In re Mohammed Arif* [1968] Ch 643, 662 where he pointed out that the control of the wardship court over the person of the ward was far from absolute. It was ousted in a wide variety of situations in which the law had entrusted such control to persons other than those having responsibility for the ward's upbringing.

Thus the wardship court had no power to exempt its ward from the general law, or to obtain for its ward rights and privileges not generally available to children who were not wards.

The wardship court could seek to achieve for its ward all that wise parents or guardians, acting in concert and exclusively in the child's interests, could achieve but no more.

For over 60 years the question whether and if so to what extent the publication of fair and accurate reports of criminal proceedings might be restrained in the interests of a child had been entrusted by Parliament, not to the court concerned with the welfare of the child but to the court having conduct of the proceedings in question.

Not only did the judge's order go beyond anything authorised by section 39 but it would secure to the ward advantages of a kind which, except by invoking the section, could not be obtained for him by his parents or guardians acting together.

In so far as the judge's order restricted publication of a fair and accurate report of the proceedings of another court the order went beyond the limits which judges exercising the wardship jurisdiction had hitherto observed on the exercise of their jurisdiction.

His Lordship accordingly agreed with the order proposed by the Master of the Rolls.

Solicitors: Mishcon de Reya; John Pearson, New Malden; Duncans, Battersea.

Regina v Kemp

Before Lord Justice McCowan, Mr Justice Morland and Mr Justice Buckley

[Judgment April 15]

Where a judge reminded the jury of their right to acquit an accused at any time after the close of the prosecution case, he had to be careful not to go beyond merely intimating that they had a right to stop the case.

The Court of Appeal, Criminal Division, so stated in dismissing an appeal by Peter Anthony Kemp against his conviction in March 1993 at Manchester Crown Court (Judge Fawcett and a jury) of assault occasioning actual bodily harm.

Capitalisation, week's change

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings began today. Dealings end May 13. Settlement day May 16. Settlement day May 23. Forward margins are permitted on two previous business days. Prices recorded are at market close. Changes are calculated on the previous day's close, but adjustments are made when a stock is ex-dividend. Changes, yields and price/earnings ratios are based on middle prices.

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Barclays Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	HSBC Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	London City	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Midland Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Natwest Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Paragon Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Prudential	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Royal Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Santander	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	TSB Bank	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

DRAPERY, STORES

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Debenhams	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Debenhams	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Debenhams	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Debenhams	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Debenhams	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

FINANCIAL TRUSTS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Financial Trusts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Financial Trusts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Financial Trusts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Financial Trusts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Financial Trusts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

FOODS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Food Products	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Food Products	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Food Products	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Food Products	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Food Products	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

INSURANCE

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Insurance Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Insurance Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Insurance Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Insurance Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Insurance Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

BREWERS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Brewers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Brewers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Brewers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Brewers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Brewers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

ELECTRICALS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Electricals	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Electricals	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Electricals	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Electricals	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Electricals	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

BUILDING, ROADS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Building, Roads	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Building, Roads	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Building, Roads	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Building, Roads	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Building, Roads	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

INDUSTRIALS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Industrial Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Industrial Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Industrial Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Industrial Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Industrial Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

HOTELS, CATERERS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Hotels, Caterers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Hotels, Caterers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Hotels, Caterers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Hotels, Caterers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Hotels, Caterers	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

PROPERTY

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Property Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Property Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Property Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Property Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Property Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

LEISURE

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Leisure Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Leisure Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Leisure Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Leisure Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Leisure Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

PAPER, PRINT, ADVTG

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Paper, Print, Advtg	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Paper, Print, Advtg	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Paper, Print, Advtg	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Paper, Print, Advtg	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Paper, Print, Advtg	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

MINING

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Mining Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Mining Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Mining Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Mining Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Mining Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

SHOES, LEATHER

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Shoes, Leather	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shoes, Leather	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shoes, Leather	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shoes, Leather	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shoes, Leather	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

BUSINESS SERVICES

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Business Services	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Business Services	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Business Services	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Business Services	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Business Services	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

TEXTILES

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Textile Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Textile Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Textile Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Textile Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Textile Companies	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

FINANCE, LAND

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Finance, Land	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Finance, Land	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Finance, Land	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Finance, Land	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Finance, Land	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

INDEX-LINKED

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

SHORTS (under 5 years)

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Shorts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shorts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shorts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shorts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Shorts	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

INDEX-LINKED

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

INDEX-LINKED

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

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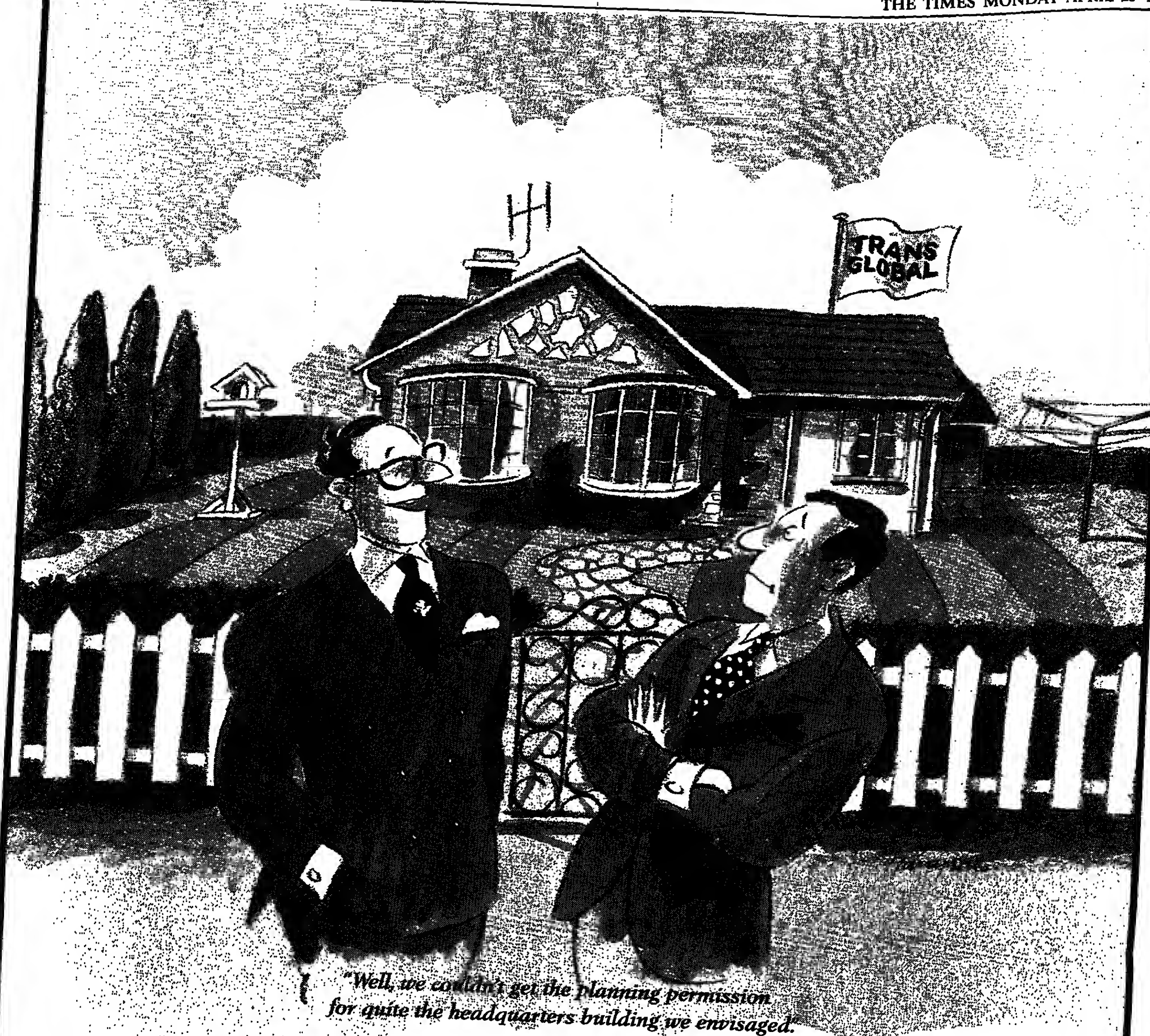
Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Index-Linked	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

CHEMICALS, PLASTICS

Mid cap	Company	Price	Wkly	Net	Yld	P/E
100.00	Chemicals, Plastics	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Chemicals, Plastics	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Chemicals, Plastics	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Chemicals, Plastics	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5
100.00	Chemicals, Plastics	245.00	-0.1	-0.1	4.1	14.5

INDEX-LINKED

		SHORTS	
20.	24.8		
1.7	24.8		
1.3	22.6		
1.4	22.6		
1.4	14.2	1,100	Each 17 1/2% 1994
1.1	—	1,000	Tenets 10% 1994
—	—	1,240	Each 15 1/2% 1994
—	—	1,000	Tenets 9% 1994
23.6	—	2,300	Tenets 12% 1995
51	4	214	Gas 2% 1990-95
1.1	22.6	2,300	Each 10% 1995
1.3	23.0	940	Tenets 12 1/2% 1995
1.3	21.8	770	Tenets 14% 1996
1.3	21.8	1,150	Tenets 15 1/2% 1996
1.3	15.6	800	Each 13 1/2% 1996
20.4	—	3,408	Chow 10% 1996
1.1	21.8	1,200	Tenets 15 1/2% 1997
23	21.4	8,700	Each 10 1/2% 1997
1.7	21.4	5,500	Tenets 8% 1997
1.5	—	800	Each 19% 1997
1.5	—	3,500	Each 6 1/2% 1998
1.3	13.9	7,820	Tenets 7 1/2% 1998
1.3	13.9	1,200	Tenets 14 1/2% 1997-98



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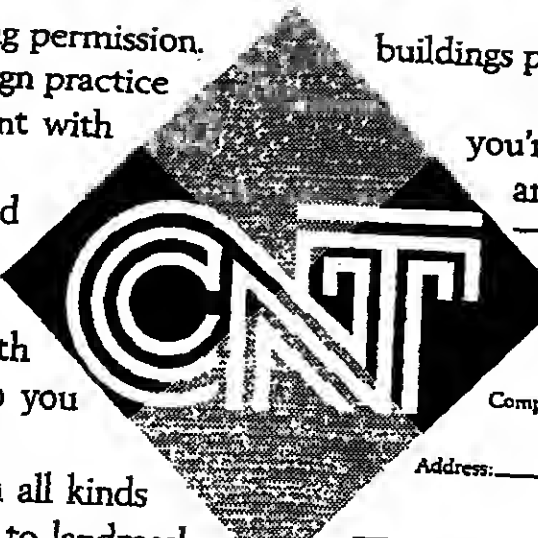
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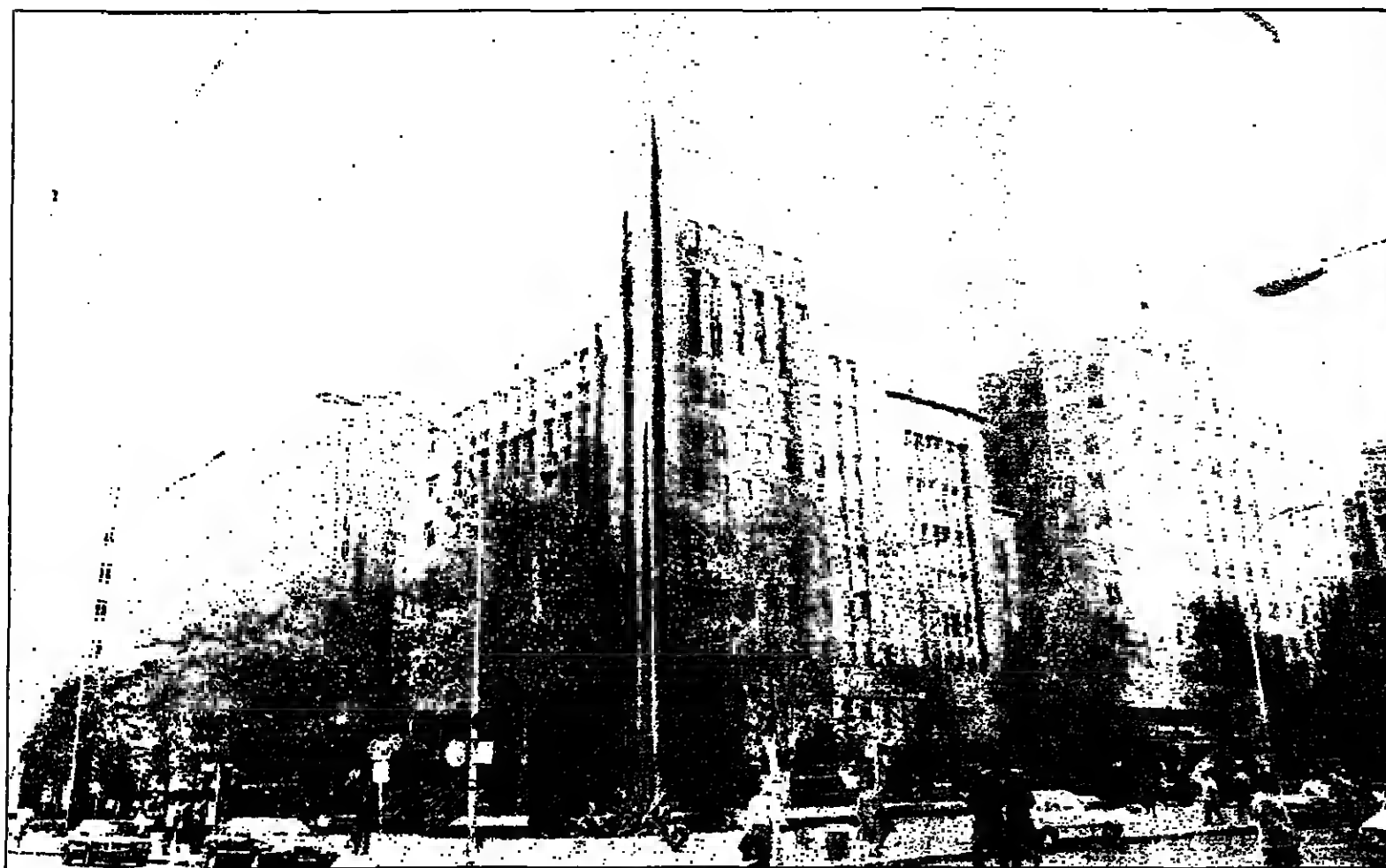
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Johannesburg's business district reflected in the Consolidated Investments building. Recent days have seen financial markets on a roller-coaster

Fear casts its shadow over South Africa's boom hopes

As South Africa prepares to go to the polls, the City of London's generals are rallying their troops. The green light is on. Bankers who have been visiting the republic for years at last have the opportunity to turn words into actions. The cheque books are open, and the pens are poised.

In Johannesburg, front-line British command posts await the final orders. Robert Fleming and Kleinwort Benson are well dug in. Barings announced last week that it was to open an office, and now the mighty Prudential is set to join the party.

Euphoria is high. But will the great South African investment boom turn out to be a flash in the *southern*? The answer must be "no" — too much is at stake — but it may take longer to materialise than people expect.

In the past few days, that barometer of investor sentiment, the financial rand, has collapsed and recovered with dizzying speed. Gold has shone and faded. Shares on the Johannesburg exchange have slumped and soared. All this is put down to what South Africans like to call "bumps in the road". How can we make such profound changes without a few bumps along the way? the argument runs.

To dismiss violence and bloodshed in such terms has a callous ring to English ears, but the point is essentially correct. Foreign investors need to look ten or 20 years ahead to put South Africa's potential into context.

But what does "foreign investment" mean? Two things: direct investment in South African shares — as in emerging markets funds — and joint ventures with local companies.

Buying shares in South African companies continues to pose problems. Insurance giants such as Old Mutual have had to invest at home because of exchange controls, tying the stock market in a web of cross-shareholdings. Liquidity is improving but it is still difficult to buy into shares on the Johannesburg exchange in any quantity.

Turn to joint ventures, and the opportunities are endless. One target

Euphoria about a post-election inrush of foreign investment may yet be destroyed by civil strife. **Jon Ashworth reports**

zone is in branded consumer goods — Heinz and Grand Metropolitan are eyeing opportunities, and Burger King and McDonald's are tipped to add South Africa to their portfolios.

South African food companies such as Tiger Oats and Malbak are in talks with potential overseas partners. The telecommunications market is wide open — Cable and Wireless and Vodafone are moving in — and international hotel groups such as Sheraton and Hyatt are scouting. There are high hopes for tourism, despite attacks on holidaymakers. It is said that a 20 per cent rise in the number of visitors would fill all available hotel beds.

In one of many ironies, much new investment is expected to flow from America. Disinvestment by US com-

panies such as IBM, General Motors and Mobil Oil — among almost 200 that pulled out between 1983 and 1990 — drained billions from South Africa's economy. Now, commentators talk of a wave of "guilt money".

Many US investors believe that, through disinvesting, they single-handedly brought down Apartheid. They are equally aware that their withdrawal caused great hardship. Now, the argument goes, they will seek to compensate for the pain with a high level of reinvestment.

Observers are brimming with optimism. Mark Katzenellenbogen, a South African specialist at SG Warburg, said: "South Africa is back on the map and part of world stock markets. For a lot of big companies, it is not 'should we be investing?', but 'in what form?'"

Jonathan Klein, a director of Hambros Bank, which has been active in

South Africa, thinks an immediate flood of cash is unlikely. He predicts that a lessening of violence after the election will prompt a rise in both institutional investment, particularly from the US, and in joint ventures and acquisitions by trade buyers and investors. Mr Klein expects a much more structured approach to investment to evolve as emerging markets funds add South Africa to their portfolios.

Adam Fleming, who opened an office for Robert Fleming in Johannesburg in 1991, said: "I think we may be all surprised by the amount of money to come in after the election. There is \$500 billion of managed emerging markets money sloshing around. One could expect at least \$10-15 billion to follow the indices." South Africa is classed as the second-largest emerging market after Hong Kong, so the funds cannot ignore it.

And what of gold? South Africa produced 622 tonnes of the metal last year, just over 27 per cent of world production. The next-biggest suppliers were America (15 per cent), Australia (11 per cent) and Latin America and the former Soviet Union (10 per cent each).

South Africa does not have the dominance in gold that it has in manganese, platinum and chrome ore — the more hint of a strike at one of the Reef's platinum mines is enough to send prices soaring — but it remains too important a source to ignore.

City observers think the incoming government, aware of gold's importance as a foreign revenue earner, will leave things much as they are for the time being. Rob Weinberg, mining analyst at SG Warburg, said: "They're

not going to mess around with the industry. They don't want to frighten off providers of foreign capital."

The mines are largely insulated from township violence. A greater danger lies in the unfulfilled dreams of blacks who are convinced that they will get a nice house and car when the African National Congress comes to power.

The big question is, will the new government be able to match new expectations? Mr Weinberg said: "If not, what will the impact be?" The obvious result will be an increase in industrial action at the mines.

The election, in turn, opens the way for foreign predators. South African gold mines are cheap by world standards — some stand at a discount of 50 per cent to their assets — and the temptation may prove too great for some big US houses.

The ANC has indicated that it will invest R39 billion over the next five years under its reconstruction and development programme, and says it can divert the money it needs for housing, water and electricity projects from South Africa's mammoth defence budget. The pledge is highly contentious. Many suspect US development agencies will have to pick up the bill.

South Africa's broad economic picture is improving. Inflation is expected to average 7.5 per cent this year and GDP is forecast to grow at 3 per cent, compared with 1.1 per cent in 1993. Unemployment is high — one in four adults are out of work — but recovery is under way.

Yet fear of the future persists. A story doing the rounds is of a white woman who informed her black maid that they would soon be moving house. "No," the woman replied, "you cannot sell. Soon it will be mine." She had been paying a proportion of her monthly salary to the ANC in the belief that she would inherit the property once the election was won.

Propaganda? Perhaps. But it makes the point. South Africa's 31 million blacks will not be launched on the good life overnight, and this is a recipe for civil strife. Bankers will ponder this as they sign their cheques.

will be inaugurated — and Worrall will have to make do with watching the festivities on television. "As the new market emerges, there is enormous investment potential, but most fund managers and institutional investors need to develop an informed judgment on portfolio investment in South Africa," says Worrall, chairman of Omega Investment Research, which is organising the conference with John Katz & Associates. "For this, they need expert guidance on the country's political, economic and financial prospects." Speakers include Nico Caytonika, group economist at Standard Bank in Johannesburg, and Michael Spriggs, head of South African research at S.G. Warburg. Telephone (071) 394 5795.

Jon Ashworth

African guidance

DENIS Worrall, former South African Ambassador to London, is due in town next month for the first investment conference of the republic's new era. The date chosen for the occasion is May 10 — the day on which South Africa's first multiracial government

will be inaugurated — and Worrall will have to make do with watching the festivities on television. "As the new market emerges, there is enormous investment potential, but most fund managers and institutional investors need to develop an informed judgment on portfolio investment in South Africa," says Worrall, chairman of Omega Investment Research, which is organising the conference with John Katz & Associates. "For this, they need expert guidance on the country's political, economic and financial prospects." Speakers include Nico Caytonika, group economist at Standard Bank in Johannesburg, and Michael Spriggs, head of South African research at S.G. Warburg. Telephone (071) 394 5795.

Jon Ashworth

Fitting tribute

FANCY owning an armoured car? Yours for £1,000. The fuss over marking the impending D-Day anniversary has proved a minor hindrance for Nick Hall, a Hampshire businessman, who is doing a roaring trade out of the sale and

hire of military memorabilia. His company, Sabre Sales of Southsea, has been swamped with requests from museums, TV stations and individuals keen to look the part. Hall says he can handle most orders, from armoured cars to US battle-dresses. His biggest headache is a tailoring detail. Car driving has made our call muscles bigger than those of our embattled predecessors, and climbing behind the wheel can be a bit of a squeeze.

Robert Sangster, and are putting their money behind a couple of two-year-old fillies this season. "We've had lots of fun," says Lowe.

Still hair ... A YEAR on from the Bishopsgate bombing — the anniversary passed this weekend — the sole remaining tenant in the NatWest Tower complex is soldiering on. Fountain Court Hairdressing, tucked away at the base of the tower, was spared the full force of the blast, and became a talking point when City regulars had to be escorted in for their haircuts wearing borrowed hardhats. The area is boarded up and work on repairing the tower is not expected to start until September, but, against all odds, the snipping goes on. "We're still here thanks to the

loyalty of our customers," says Alex Penkul, who runs Fountain Court. "Some even come to us from the West End."

Standards in the race world of FR are not what they were. A colleague tells me that of 12 press invitations to land on his desk, three did not put the time, three gave the wrong date, one left out the time and the place, two didn't say what the function was about, and one was dated 1993. Back to the handbook, chaps ...

Simon ... THIS IS YOUR BIG CHANCE, MATTHEW! ... IF YOU PULL OFF THIS SHARE-DEAL, YOU WON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT YOUR MORTGAGE ANY MORE ... AND REST ASSURED THERE'S A JOB WAITING FOR YOU WHEN YOU GET OUT!

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Simon ... THIS IS

Treasury faces loss of tax in Grid sale

By MARTIN WALLER
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

THE Treasury is set to miss out on massive tax earnings totalling hundreds of millions of pounds if work now being done in the City on the proposed flotation of the National Grid next year is successful.

Advisers to the float, which will put a value of more than £4 billion on the Grid, currently owned by the 12 regional electricity companies, are examining ways of avoiding the payment of Capital Gains Tax (CGT) by the companies.

Such a move would cause a political storm greater than that brewing over the float, which will bring further windfall gains to an industry already criticised by opposition politicians as having been privatised at a bargain basement price and then allowed to make excessive profits.

Peter Hain, Labour MP for Neath and secretary of the Labour backbench trade and industry committee, has written to Kenneth Clarke, the

Electricity company shareholders could be given free shares in the National Grid. The move would not raise new cash but would enhance the share prices of the distributors

Chancellor, asking how much tax the Treasury can expect to raise from the Grid sale, after an attempt to put down a Parliamentary Question on the matter was blocked last week.

"The public and taxpayers have been seriously short-changed in the original flotation of the distribution companies," he said. "This additional sale is a shareholders' freebie on top."

But industry insiders say the fault was the Government's, for selling off electricity and in particular the Grid too cheaply, and that the distributors must act in the best interests of their shareholders.

The Grid, which made pre-tax profits of £993 million in the last financial year, was effectively thrown in for free when the 12 distributors were floated in December 1990, and

the City's rising perception of its value has exaggerated the market worth since then.

Shares in the distributors, which enjoyed total dividend income from their holdings in the Grid last year of £129 million, are mostly in the £5 to £7 range, having been sold off at £2.40.

National Grid took the first steps towards a possible flotation last week, appointing a merchant bank, Kleinwort Benson, and Herbert Smith, the firm of solicitors. Kleinwort is thought to have done work for the Grid before, ahead of plans to go to market that were postponed last year.

A study last month by Kleinwort, in its capacity as a stockbroker and before its appointment by National Grid, suggested the flotation would add at least 74p to the average distributor's share price, allowing for CGT, and the realistic value was likely to be much higher. "The hidden value is unlikely to remain locked away for much longer," said Simon Williams, Kleinwort's electricity analyst.

A straight sale on to the stock market of a proportion of their holdings, likely to be of between 25 and 40 per cent and set for some time next year, would attract an immediate tax bill, theoretically of 25 per cent of their total profits. The Exchequer could therefore look for a figure, on their entire holdings, in excess of £1 billion.

Under their articles of association, the distributors are required to act in the interests of their shareholders rather than the taxman and must, by law, look at ways of minimising or cutting out the tax bill.

One option is thought to be a free handout of shares in the Grid to the millions of existing shareholders in the distributors, who would then be left to sort out their tax affairs for themselves. This would not bring any cash into the distributors directly, but would clearly enhance their share prices.

The lack of a cash inflow, however, is not a problem. Most of the companies have positive cash balances after paying off, from their strong cash flows, the hefty debts that they were privatised with.



Garry Hawkes, Gardner Merchant chief executive, with some of the 2,800 lunch boxes prepared for delegates at tomorrow's Institute of Directors convention at the Royal Albert Hall. The blast-chilled meals will be taken to the hall tomorrow

Prudential opens investment office in South Africa

By JON ASHWORTH

BRITAIN'S biggest insurance group is joining the rush to do business in South Africa.

The Prudential Corporation has become the latest big name to open a representative office in the republic, heralding the way for a new era of investment optimism in the former pariah state.

Prudential Portfolio Managers (PPM), the group's fund management arm, has set up an office in Cape Town to advise on investment in South African equities.

The decision, on the eve of the country's first multiracial elections, comes just days after Barings, the UK's oldest merchant bank, announced it was

opening an office in Johannesburg.

Rodney Dennis, deputy managing director (securities) at PPM in London, said: "It will be a challenging couple of years, but South Africa is going in the right direction."

The Prudential is willing to deal directly on behalf of UK institutional investors wanting to buy shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

The group said that the move did not signal any intention to re-enter the South African retail savings and insurance market.

It disposed of its last direct shareholding in South Africa in 1989, with the sale, for £39

million, of a 6.8 per cent stake in Liberty Life.

The new subsidiary will be run by Graham Mason, formerly of Old Mutual, South Africa's largest life company.

In recent years, PPM has opened offices in Chicago, Toronto and Sydney as part of a drive to extend its investment activities. It plans to open in Hong Kong this year.

Boom hopes, page 42

Names set for court fight with agents

By JON ASHWORTH

ABOUT 3,000 Lloyd's names belonging to the Gooda Walker Action Group are taking on their agents in the High Court tomorrow.

They are suing 71 members' agents for alleged negligent underwriting relating to losses suffered on the Gooda Walker syndicates and seeking £629 million in damages. The hearing is expected to last three months.

Michael Deeny, chairman of the Gooda Walker Action Group and an ardent campaigner on behalf of ruined Lloyd's names, said that the outcome would have a crucial bearing on more than 30 outstanding Lloyd's actions involving total claims of more than £3 billion.

He said that the costs of preparing for the action had topped £2 million, and he was prepared to spend "whatever it takes" to see justice done. About £3.7 million has been budgeted for the hearing's costs.

Remarkably, the action has taken little more than a year to reach the courts.

In a high degree of electronic sophistication, the judge, Mr Justice Phillips, and other participants, will have computer screens at their disposal to allow instant access to transcripts and evidence as the hearing proceeds.

Chaotic scenes will follow if all 3,000 names turn up for the start of tomorrow's proceedings. Police are braced for a media scrum, with television crews flying in from France and Germany for the occasion.

The Serious Fraud Office called off its investigation into the Gooda Walker syndicates this month.

Gooda Walker names, who include Sir Freddie Laker, the former airline magnate, and Paul Marland, the Conservative MP, are among the insurance market's hardest-hit, having suffered an average loss of £275,000 each. Gooda Walker losses have topped £1 billion so far.

The High Court clash comes two months after names overwhelmingly rejected a £900 million offer of settlement by Lloyd's, in return for which they would have given up their right to sue.

Gooda Walker Action Group leaders claimed it would be better to fight their case through the courts, in spite of warnings that litigation could drag on for years.

Handling of jobs data to be reviewed

By PHILIP BASSETT
INDUSTRIAL EDITOR

THE Government is to carry out a wide-ranging review of the way it adjusts its employment figures to take account of seasonal patterns of work.

The Department of Employment, which last week issued figures showing that the seasonally adjusted total of people out of work and claiming benefit had fallen by 30,300 in March, will review the practice of adjusting raw statistics to produce a smooth data series that allows statistically valid comparisons to be made over time.

The move follows big revisions of employment figures to take account of new information available from the 1991 Census. The revisions last week showed that the growth of part-time work in the recession was far less than ministers had claimed in advocating flexible labour market policies to reduce unemployment.

Labour is likely to attack the exclusion of the claimant count unemployment figures from the seasonal adjustment review. The employment department said yesterday that the seasonal adjustment process for unemployment figures had been examined last year.

Seasonal adjustment is applied to a range of Government economic and other figures, principally using a computer package known as X-11. The employment department's review will consider using a computer program called MicroCap, currently used for seasonal adjustments to the Government's widely respected quarterly Labour Force Survey data.

The seasonal adjustment process has prompted controversy since it takes raw data of the number of people employed, or out of work, and produces figures that, though statistically more significant, are accused of not measuring anything at all. Seasonally adjusted unemployment last week was 55,000 less than unadjusted unemployment.

Labour's employment spokesman, who have criticised the Government's figures as not presenting a real picture, have attacked the process of seasonal adjustment, especially after a sharp adjustment to the January figures. Whitehall officials acknowledge privately that this particular adjustment reflected problems with the computer program's handling of the figures.

Lloyds and C&G ruling date fixed

By PATRICIA TEHAN, BANKING CORRESPONDENT

THE High Court will decide on May 23 if Lloyds Bank's proposed £1.8 billion acquisition of the Cheltenham & Gloucester Building Society is in contravention of the Building Societies Act.

The Building Societies Commission, the regulatory authority for the industry, has told the two that it is not satisfied that, under the Act, cash payments can be made to building society members by a third party and that the Act could be interpreted to suggest that such payments cannot be made to people who have been members for less than two years.

Although Lloyds and C&G have been portraying the court hearing as a friendly clarification of the Act, the BSC is understood not to view the action in such a friendly light.

Whereas in 1989 the commission and Abbey National launched a friendly action to clarify the Act, in the case of Lloyds and C&G the commission is believed

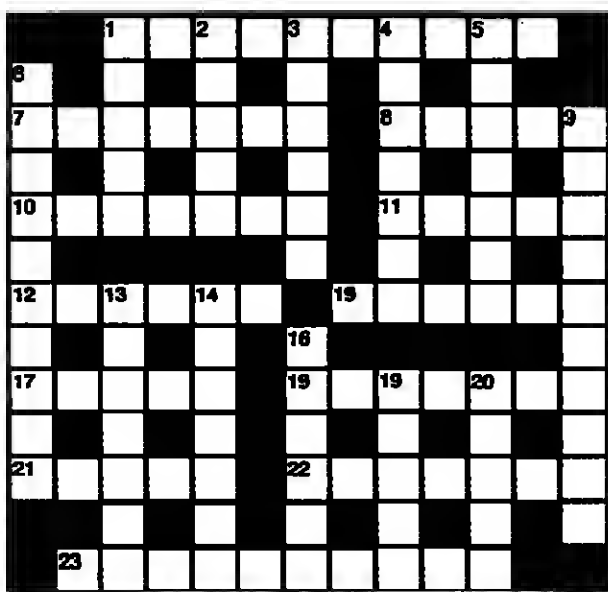
to have disagreed with their interpretation of the Act and to believe that there is a fundamental point of principle to be tested.

However, Lloyds and C&G said last week that they announced their plans after seeking the opinion of two leading counsel, who both believed that such payments would be lawful.

Meanwhile, the Treasury is likely to unveil plans to relax the limits on building society funding next month when it completes the first stage of its review of the Act.

Building societies have been lobbying the Treasury to increase the proportion of funds that they can raise from the wholesale money markets from 40 to 50 per cent.

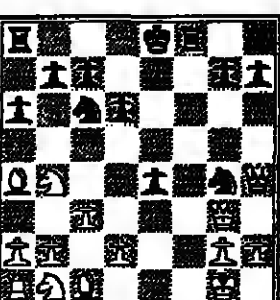
Adrian Coles, director-general of the Building Societies Association, said that societies view an increase in wholesale funding as the most important change they want from the review, which started in January.



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By Raymond Keene

This position is from the game Adams - Pisket, Wijk aan Zee 1991. How does Black swiftly force a decisive win of material?



Solution, page 25

Raymond Keene, page 7

TIMES TWO CROSSWORD

No 147

ACROSS

- 1 Author of *Finnegans Wake* (5)
- 7 Dressed (7)
- 8 W Indian dance, under bar (5)
- 10 Rod holding weights for lifting (7)
- 11 Ring for throwing (5)
- 12 Powerful, damaging shock (6)
- 15 Expose to view (6)
- 17 Capital of Egypt (5)
- 18 Ritually impure (7)
- 21 Bloodsucker (5)
- 22 To corrupt (7)
- 23 Prehistoric Wiltshire monument (10)

SOLUTION TO NO 146

- ACROSS: 8 Andante 9 Ennui 10 Mendicant 11 Ash 12 Repeal 14 Terrorist 15 Snowcap 17 Pinch 19 Pip 20 Waistband 22 Idols 23 Manhole
- DOWN: 1 Farmer 2 Aden 3 Anticlockwise 4 Recant 5 Letters patent 6 Invasion 7 Either 13 Pooh-pooh 15 Septic 16 Prisms 18 Hidden 21 Ahoy

By Philip Howard

ICONIAN

- a. A trace element
- b. Resembling an icon
- c. Coming from Korya

MAVRONE

- a. An exclamation of grief
- b. Malmsey wine
- c. A Tagus coracle

BANAGHER

- a. Something to beat
- b. A potato pancake
- c. An Irish terrier

FRAUENDIENST

- a. A fast day
- b. Exaggerated chivalry to women
- c. Potato and leek soup

Answers on page 25

Manchester City seeks market goal

By MARTIN FLANAGAN

MANCHESTER City Football Club has unveiled extensive redevelopment plans to prepare the ground for a planned flotation on the stock market within 18 months.

The club, where a new consortium led by Francis Lee, a former City player, took control ten weeks ago, hopes to emulate the success that Manchester United, its rival, has had.

Colin Barlow, City's managing director, who came in with Mr Lee, said: "We know United have a two-furlong lead on us in business terms, but we certainly aim to be snapping at their heels within a couple of years."

"We would hope to have gone public within two years, conservatively, and, hopefully, within 18 months, because it would open up an opportunity for funds and institutional investors. First we want to put things in place to show the institutions the profit-generating plans we have to awaken what is a sleeping giant."

The plans include building a stand incorporating a shopping mall, restaurants, betting shops and leisure facilities within a year. Mr Barlow said there were also plans to open the Maine Road stadium in the evenings for professional and vocational training leading to diplomas. It is thought the staging of other sporting events is also on the cards.

City downfall, page 28

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